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On working for public welfare : a descriptive analysis of the working environment from the perspective of social service workers.

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ON WORKING FOR PUBLIC WELFARE: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL SERVICE WORKERS

A Dissertation Presented

By

DOLORES P. HARRALL

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Education

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Arthur Eve, Chairperson of Committee

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

My mother, Mrs. Alleain Harrall,
My sister, Mrs. Mary Spinks, and
My brother, Mr. Fred Harrall, who
never doubted my ability, and who
challenged me continually, through
their love and encouragement, to
believe in myself.

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ABSTRACT

On Working for Public Welfare:
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The hypothesis of this study is that the welfare system's negative treatment of the social service caseworkers within their working environment is closely aligned with the negative attitude the welfare system has towards its clients. This situation encourages an identification process of workers with their clients which inversely affects service delivery.

One hundred and fifty personal interviews were conducted with direct social service workers in 68 percent of the Community Service Centers within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Using a qualitative methodology, emerging categories from the interview materials were coded and subsequently analyzed. The major conclusions were:

(1) most individuals interviewed perceived their job situation as insecure due to civil service regulations, temporary job status, and an unfair reward and punishment system; (2) job training was viewed as limited and generally inappropriate; and (3) frequency of policy changes, time lags, and excessive paper work were seen to be highly detrimental to the delivery of services.

In addition, seventy-five percent of the individuals interviewed felt they lacked involvement in agency policy development, worked in inadequate environments for interviewing and counseling. They were also the recipients of an unproductive interagency communication process.

Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory provided a framework for concluding that the present working environment of some social service caseworkers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts contributes significantly to job dissatisfaction and subsequently to poor worker performance. Another important phenomenon which emerged from the interviews and the experience of this writer was the parallel way the welfare system deals with its caseworkers and its clients. Both groups perceive their treatment by the system as dehumanizing, and verbalized similar negative self-perceptions. Apparently there is unconscious identification for some stigmatized caseworkers with those clients "no one else will touch."

The value of this study lies in its focus on the impact and implications of personnel administration policies for the overall delivery of human services.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The world of public welfare is one of the most complex, ineffective systems in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The term welfare system is used typically with hostility and degradation (Harmon, 1971, p. 84). It is considered by some to be a "lost cause--philosophically, practically or by any other criteria of measurement" (Montgomery, 1970, p. 69). There are numerous problems which are believed to account for the welfare mess (Harmon, 1971, p. 84) among which are the need for millions of dollars to operate the system; the need to distinguish the deserving from the undeserving poor (May, 1964, p. 15); the need to eliminate fraud (Clegg, 1968, p. vii); the need to replace unqualified personnel (Jacobs, 1970, p. 235); and inappropriate or inadequate programs (Weiss, 1970, p. 316). A number of studies has been conducted both within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and throughout the nation to assess problems within the welfare system and to make some provisions for change. Although there have been many studies regarding the welfare worker, the focus has usually been on worker-client relationships, level of education, or

occupational careers of caseworkers (Habenstein, 1970, p. 9). Little consideration has been given to the working environment of the caseworkers as it affects them in their job function.

Job satisfaction is extremely important to individuals since their jobs occupy most of their waking day. Yet for many workers, the work situation is a cause of grief. What is it that makes individuals satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs? While there might be many reasons for job dissatisfaction, Herzberg (1959) would attribute it chiefly to the individual's dissatisfaction with the working environment. The enivronmental factors, which Herzberg calls hygiene factors, include company policies and administration, supervision, working conditions, interpersonnel relations, money, status and security. Herzberg found that in situations where workers were unhappy, they indicated that the hygiene factors were poor.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory closely parallels Herzberg's study and can be used to demonstrate further the interrelationship between the workers' attitudes toward their job and the degree to which the job satisfies their needs. Maslow in expressing his hierarchy of needs theory indicates that man has five levels of need. As each level is somewhat satisfied, another level emerges as dominant, and becomes important to the individual.

While Maslow is concerned with needs or motives, Herzberg's concern is relative to the goals or incentives that tend to satisfy the needs. The two frameworks are compatible in that Maslow's physiological, security and social needs are included in Herzberg's hygiene factors (Hersey & Blanchard, 1972, p. 56). It follows that if Maslow's basic human needs are not satisfied in the work situation, then job dissatisfaction will occur.

According to Herzberg, however, job satisfaction is not assured when these hygiene factors are satisfied. The fulfillment of these lower level human needs only prevents the occurrence of job dissatisfaction. Job satisfaction occurs when esteem, recognition, achievement and professional growth are realized by the individual. When these variables are positively experienced by workers, they tend to exhibit mature, productive behavior, and are happy in their jobs (Herzberg, 1959, pp. 113-115).

Having noted Herzberg's theory of job dissatisfaction as it relates to hygiene factors, this study describes the hygiene factors within the working environment of direct social service workers in the Massachusetts' Office of Social Services. It is the author's thesis that the way the welfare system treats its workers in terms of their work situation is aligned with the general attitude it has towards its clients. It has been pointed out that social

work within the Department of Public Welfare is an unloved and non-enviable position (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973, p. 13). This situation encourages an identification process of workers with their clients which inversely affects service delivery. This predicament seems plausible since welfare clients are also perceived as people who are unloveable and non-enviable. A helping process is difficult to establish and maintain when the helpers feel as bad about their situation as those they are supposed to help. It is doubly difficult, when reinforced by the larger social order, the same system appears to be responsible for the feelings of both groups. Looking at the system from the perspective of the social service worker is essential since the "quality of the social service programs will depend largely upon the ability of the system to maintain a stable corps of motivated caseworkers" (Weiss, 1970, p. 321).

Purpose of the Study

The intent of this investigation is to describe from a phenomenological perspective (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 13) the work environment of direct social service workers within the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare and to infer from a descriptive analysis of the data collected the functional value of line social service personnel to the department. Within the context of qualitative

methodology, (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 4) the process of symbolic interactionism (Manis & Meltzer, 1967, p. 19) will be employed as a theoretical framework. The primary source of data for this study will evolve from unstructured interviews (Lofland, 1971, p. 76) with direct social service workers in conjunction with observations made during the interviews. This presentation will focus upon the following aspects of the social service caseworker's work environment:

(1) Job Security
(2) Training
(3) Physical Facilities
(4) On-going Employer-Employee Relationships

Since the world of work plays such a key position in the lives of many, and services to others is a highly commendable gesture, it seems important to assess the conditions under which many public servants must try to render help to so many wasted Americans (May, 1964). The question for discussion here is twofold: are the prevailing working conditions of caseworkers conducive to providing quality services, or are they a hindrance?

For the purpose of this study, the direct social service interviewees will include those persons offering direct services to clients at the local level within the

Massachusetts Office of Social Services. While significant references will be made to supervisory and management personnel when appropriate, the focus will be on the perceptions and feelings that direct social service workers have about their work situation.

Design of the Study

In 1976 an investigation was conducted to assess the delivery of services to children in six human services agencies within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As a member of this investigating team, and a participant observer, this writer became interested in how line social service workers in the Department of Public Welfare perceived their work environment. This particular aspect of the welfare worker's world is the product of the writer's independent analysis and is a substantive area of study not highlighted in the results of the broader investigation called The Children's Puzzle. (See Appendix D.)

The focus of the study is to describe the work environment of social service workers from their perspective. A qualitative methodological approach was used which precluded the development of any hypotheses prior to the actual interviews. This methodology is appropriate for eliciting a holistic description of the work environment and for producing descriptive data on individuals which are both verbal and behavioral.

During a pre-field work stage, an interview guide was developed which allowed the researcher a broad range of questioning relative to the welfare organization. Since the focus of the Children's Puzzle was to assess service delivery to children, the interview guide reflected that focus. Direct questions were avoided as much as possible in order to lessen influence on the interviewee's responses. A secondary analysis reveals descriptive data relative to some caseworkers' perceptions of their work environment. Available public documents which were read during this stage helped in formulating the interview guide. These unstructured interviews were conducted with approximately 150 direct social service workers in 68 percent of the Commonwealth's Community Service Centers. Field notes were manually recorded during the interview process and, as dominant themes subsequently emerged, significant categories of relevance to this study were coded.

Authors supporting the various procedures used by the investigator include Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, for an overall qualitative perspective and framework; Lofland, 1973, for the development of an interview guide and the collection and management of qualitative materials; and Glaser and Strauss, 1973, for the process of identifying emerging categories. The theory of symbolic interaction comes from the perspective of Mead and Blumer in Manis and Meltzer, 1967.

Significance of the Study

Welfare workers are often criticized for the manner in which they treat their clients. Sometimes the criticism is soundly justified, at other times it may not be. No matter what the criticism, whether justified or not, welfare workers seldom have the opportunity to give their perspective of the system and to discuss how they are affected by it.

The significance of this study lies in the following elements:

(1) it will look at welfare in terms of the worker and not the client or finances, thus presenting a different view of the welfare worker than is typically presented;

(2) it will reveal the unknown through direct, original information;

(3) it will present potential explanations for the ineffectiveness of particular social service workers in the Public Welfare System;

(4) it will describe the treatment of some welfare workers by the system and relate it to the way many clients are treated by the same system; and

(5) it will hold the theory of Hierarchy of Credibility in abeyance by describing the work environment from the perspective of low level workers. "In any system of ranked groups, participants take it as given that members of the highest group have the right to define the way things really are" (Becker, 1966, p. 241).

Limitations of the Study

In order that the content of this study can be viewed in the proper light, the following limitations must be kept in mind:

(1) this study covers the time period of July, 1976 to February, 1977;

(2) organizational constraints upon the caseworkers such as finances and service availability are not dealt with here;

(3) the workers interviewed are limited to those in social services;

(4) each worker was interviewed only once because of time constraints;

(5) only limited exploring and probing was done in each substantive area; and

(6) the data are valid only for the people interviewed.

Definition of Terms

Adoption Placement Worker: accepts applications, completes home study, trains adoptive parents, and prepares child for adoption.

Bumping: displaces a worker who has temporary job status by moving in a worker with permanent job status.

Caseworker: conducts case investigations of individuals requesting or receiving assistance or service; evaluates the information and takes or recommends appropriate action.

Community Service Center Director: provides overall administrative direction and supervision of the Public Welfare programs of a C.S.C. and its branch offices.

Generalist Worker: makes assessments, develops service plans for clients, gives information and counselling, terminates or transfers cases as needed.

Group Care Worker: accepts and makes appropriate referrals to group care facility, supervises child in the facility and monitors and evaluates the group care facility.

Homefinder: provides list of foster homes, makes home studies, accepts applications from prospective foster parents, conducts training sessions for foster parents.

Information and Referral Worker: determines and verifies eligibility of clients; interviews clients; and makes and accepts referrals.

Phenomenology: a method in philosophy that begins with the individual's own conscious experience and tries to avoid prior assumptions, prejudices, and philosophical dogmas.

Protective Service Worker: receives 51A reports from mandated reporters, investigates reports, develops casework plans and services families directly or refers to appropriate unit.

Qualitative Methodology: research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior.

Separation: the administrative separation of the functions of providing cash assistance from social services.

Supervisor: supervises and participates in the organizing, planning, assigning, coordinating and reviewing of the work of a staff engaged in child welfare services.

Symbolic Interactionism: process of developing definitions of a situation, or perspective through the process of interpretation and then acting in terms of the definitions. While people may act within the framework of an organization, it is the interpretation and not the organization which determines action.

Unstructured Interviews: a guided conversation which elicits from interviewees what they consider to be important questions relative to a given topic, their descriptions of some situation being explored.

Work Incentive Worker: determines reasons for failure to report for job interviews, does supportive assessments and sixty day counselling.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters plus a glossary of terms, bibliography, and related appendices.

Chapter I provides an overview of the study. It contains an introduction to the problem area, a statement of the purpose of the study, its design, significance and limitations. The Introduction to Chapter I briefly enumerates various problems connected with the Department of Public Welfare and focuses on the working environment of social service workers as one of them. The "Purpose of the Study" clarifies the objectives of the dissertation and the "Design of the Study" describes the qualitative methodological approach employed in this investigation. The "Significance of the Study" as presented in Chapter I discusses the contribution of the study to the field, and "The Limitations" outline its constraints.

Chapter II reviews the literature regarding related work problems of public welfare caseworkers, and the issue of job dissatisfaction. It focuses on the historical origins of public welfare and a general description of the Department of Public Welfare within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It describes the general environment as well as discusses other issues relevant to the topic of the

dissertation. Chapter III details the methods employed in the research. This chapter reviews the design of the study, addresses the development of the interview guide, discusses the data points selected, and presents the methods of analysis employed in analyzing the interview data.

Chapter IV focuses on the descriptive presentation and analysis of data collected; and Chapter V presents a summary of significant findings, and the investigator's conclusions based on those findings.

C H A P T E R II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

History of the Question

Before 1860, the practice of social work was motivated primarily by religious and economic interests. This was the problematic form that first attracted attention which led to the relief practices that preceded the modern tradition of social work. According to Reynolds (1965)

> . . . relieving want was sometimes motivated by compassion, but often by desire to gather merit in heaven or by the need of society to punish those who by being poor, got in the way of "their betters" (Reynolds, 1965, p. 18).

The connection of social work with almsgiving to the needy developed through two major routes: religion and the human sciences (Kohs, 1966, p. 23). Many of the values, purposes and functions of social work have been derived from religion. Social work, like many other professions, was ingrained in what early civilizations tried to do for themselves and each other. In the absence of professionals, they needed to alleviate their physical, emotional, or psychological pain. Thus charitable or sharing acts began to appear within groups.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the state increasingly took authority over man's physical,

social and economic being, while willing to leave to the church, authority over his religious and spiritual needs. After the Reformation, the church had to relinquish to the state those individuals whose problems could be met only through the state's greater resources. However, the state was not prepared. This resulted in the state's punitive behavior towards the needy. The needy were seen as evil (Kohs, 1966, p. 96).

In the late 1870's, there was growth in the idea of friendly visiting with poor people in order to gain understanding of their hopes and fears. For the most part these activities were in the style of the privileged class doing something for an under-privileged one. It was not perceived that the poor were competent enough to use their intelligence to improve their own lot.

The historical importance of the English Poor Laws resides in the fact that they represent an official state commitment to taking care of those in need. In so doing, the Poor Laws indirectly enhanced all welfare activities.

Social work is an integral part of the society in which it grows. Society produced this structure and maintains it. The assumption that material aid, not continued for long, would be capable of solving most problems of people in distress was part and parcel of the American structure of social work (Reynolds, 1965, p. 32). America did not plan on indefinite poverty.

Public services for relief, until the depression beginning in 1929, were thought of either as a last resort for the care of incompetents or as a temporary means of aid to capable people who would soon be independent of it. However, as the economic cycle lengthened out in the depressed phase, a "business of relief" grew up which in recent years has become a mass production industry. Without defined skills of its own at first, the administration of relief drew upon various professions--teachers, engineers, lawyers, business executives, farmers, artisans as well as social workers trained in private agencies. These professionals would "muddle through" what they felt was a temporary crisis (Reynolds, 1965, p. 32). Since World War II, relief programs have mushroomed almost beyond control. It has come to involve billions of dollars and millions of people. It has been and continues to be the function of social welfare to develop conditions and provide services which promote and assure the well-being, happiness, and contentment of all societies' people (Kohs, 1966, p. 18).

The Current Situation

For the past ten years severe criticism has been leveled at the system of Public Welfare, both nationally and locally. Some of the criticisms have led to legislative and/or administrative reorganization, as well as to the

creation of organizations to support client welfare rights. In all of these efforts little attention has been given to the study of work as it is experienced and evaluated by the welfare workers themselves. One study published in 1977 states that "there can be no real reform of welfare until there are first fundamental improvements in the quality of the work experience and work place of those who dispense welfare services" (Horejsi, Walz & Connolly, 1977, p. xiii). John Hanson, a social worker and spokesman for the Union Local 509 in Massachusetts, was quoted in the Boston Globe as stating that "the creation of a new agency does not solve any of the major problems--lack of money, staff, and training" (Boston Globe, January 27, 1979). Carole Carmichael of the Chicago Tribune was quoted in the Boston Globe as stating that

> in service organizations . . . there is little recognition of the need for professionals to take care of themselves. Proof of this shows in the amount of research on job satisfaction and motivation there is on professionals in business and industry, which is abundant. Little research is available on the social service professions (Boston Globe, July 2, 1979).

For discussion purposes, this chapter will consist of three major sections. The first section will be a general structural description of the Department of Public Welfare in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The second section will review the literature relative to social work as a profession and the social worker as a professional. It

will include a discussion of status, prestige, and the conflict of bureaucratic vs. professional standards. The third section will concern itself with the issue of job satisfaction as it relates to the individual worker's self-esteem and job performance.

In order to gather comprehensively all published literature relative to the job satisfaction of social service workers within the Department of Public Welfare, the writer utilized two computer searches conducted on five different data bases. The accumulated citations were relatively fruitless. The first computer search conducted at Harvard University in March, 1979 used the Eric and Psychological Data Bases. The computer was fed the terms social worker, caseworkers, and welfare. When these three terms were associated, the result was ninety-one citations. Crossed with these terms were work environment, job satisfaction, organizational climate, motivation, attitudes, incentives and welfare. The result was thirty-seven citations from the Psychological base and twelve from the Eric base. Of these citations only four were found to be relevant to this study.

The second computer search was conducted at Brandeis University on three different data bases and yielded no citations. In addition, Sociological Abstracts, Doctoral Dissertations in Schools of Social Work, as well as other

pertinent reference materials were researched manually. However, the writer did come upon two significant recent studies. One study published in 1977 by John E. Horejsi, Thomas Walz and Patrick R. Connolly examined the Public Welfare System from the perspective of the welfare worker. It was based on a two-state study of workers' perceptions of and experiences in the welfare workplace. John Horejsi conducted the research effort in the state of Missouri. Thomas Walz conducted a parallel study in Iowa. The Missouri sample included mainly line caseworker staff, while the Iowa sample was stratified across all levels of Public Welfare employment. The study included both mailed questionnaires and open-ended interviews. It reached a sample of workers at all levels, in public welfare agencies of all sizes, in all locations in the geographical region chosen for investigation. The interviews were conducted in 1975.

The statistics produced by the research found that:

92% of the workers interviewed liked their jobs
77% found that helping people was their greatest satisfaction
85% found their greatest frustration was dealing with the bureaucracy
84% reported the frustration was constant or increasing over time
77% reported low morale in their agency

The intent of the study, however, was not to present a statistical report (there are no codified data in the book), but rather to enrich the understanding of and sensitivity to

the issues and circumstances surrounding worker frustration. Some of the issues contributing to worker frustration in Missouri and Iowa were the need for a supportive work environment and less involvement with paper work and procedures. The fact that the study by Horejsi et al. indicated that individuals liked their jobs seems contradictory to the findings of this study. However, the question of whether individuals liked their jobs or not was not the focus of this study.

The second study completed by Michael Greenblatt and Steven Richmond (1979) was a case study of a Boston office in the Department of Public Welfare in the Commonwealth. It includes a description of what it is like to work in Assistance Payments as well as Social Services from the perspective of two employees. The approach taken was to describe the system from the perspective of front line service workers, through meaningful vignettes and a description of one day in the office of Assistance Payments. It selects out some issues involved in conducting social work services including the staff turnover problem, the poor physical working conditions and inadequate equipment. The service delivery process is discussed and case assignments and record keeping are described (Greenblatt & Richmond, 1979).

Analysis of the available literature concerned with the working environment of social workers reveals some

ambiguity among researchers as to the professionality of social work and the social worker. In addition, much of the research in the area of job satisfaction does not conclude a direct causality between job satisfaction and increased worker productivity. Evidently other factors are involved.

Description of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare

Before presenting the literature relative to the social worker as a professional, it is essential that a description of the broader organizational management of the Massachusetts welfare system be presented, since that is the context within which caseworkers find themselves. It is this writer's contention that one cannot fully understand individuals without understanding the organization in which they are embedded.

To work within the Department of Public Welfare is to work within a complex, unwieldy system which has steadily lost public support. Hampered by an ineffective organizational and management system, it is difficult to implement the broad goals and purposes which are provided in its general laws. Massachusetts General Law, Chapter 119 states:

> It is hereby declared to be a policy of this Commonwealth to direct its efforts, first, to the strengthening and encouragement of family life for the protection and care of children;

> to assist and encourage the use by any family of all available resources to this end; and to provide substitute care of children only when the family itself or the resources available to the family are unable to provide the necessary care and protection to insure the rights of any child to sound health and normal physical, mental, spiritual and moral development (Massachusetts General Laws Annotated, sec. 1).

Chapter 119 continues and states the purpose of welfare:

> . . . to insure that the children of the Commonwealth are protected against the harmful effects resulting from the absence, inability, inadequacy or destructive behavior of parents or parent substitutes, and to assure good substitute parental care in the event of the absence, temporary or permanent inability or unfitness of parents to provide care and protection for their children (Massachusetts General Laws Annotated, sec. 1).

To focus on the maintenance of a strong family life, the Department of Public Welfare in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts administers a program of public assistance and social services. Welfare offices, regionally and area based, are scattered geographically across the state so as to provide quicker and more personal service (Warren, 1976, p. 13). The central office is located in Boston, and there are six regional offices and forty subregional areas known as catchment areas, which encompass the entire Commonwealth ("Title XX, Administrative Review," 1979, p. 20). The six regions include Boston, Greater Boston, Lawrence, New Bedford, Springfield, and Worcester. In each of the six regions there are between four and eleven community service area (C.S.A.) centers. From regional organizational charts

it was shown that each of the forty areas has between two and five welfare service offices (W.S.O.). The population, geographical boundaries, and outreach programs dictate the number of area offices located in a single region.

Structural organization and management. The State Department of Public Welfare's organization and management are hierarchical and bureaucratic in structure. Administratively, the head of the department is the commissioner who reports directly to the Secretary of Human Services. The commissioner, his deputy and other assistant commissioners are located in the central office in Boston. In this office resides all locus of control for organization planning, policy development, and fiscal responsibilities ("Understanding Welfare 1976," 1976, p. 12). Some department personnel indicate that planning and development are always supposed to be done in collaboration with the regional offices, advisory boards, and with some input from community service centers and welfare service offices. The various units, such as assistance payments, research, planning, and legal affairs have administrative heads who tend to operate autonomously. This has resulted in "confused reporting relationships and inadequate management direction" ("Management Task Force," 1975, p. 63). (See also organizational chart, Appendix A.)

As in all organizations, there are both formal and informal communication systems (Blau & Scott, 1962, pp. 6-7).

The formal communication system is confusing and complex. It emanates from the central office and is generally a downward flow to regional offices and subsequently to area offices. The primary receivers of information are regional directors who communicate to area directors, who in turn communicate to direct service staff. While the process seems simple and uncomplicated, the implementation of the process is highly confusing, frustrating and ineffective. Area based direct service staff often get requests and direction from various central and regional staff which frequently immobilizes the local office with procedures and administrative tasks which impede rather than facilitate services (Warren, 1976, p. 10) and ("Title XX Administrative Review," 1979, p. 149). This process is indicative of a lack of line authority to the field (Warren, 1976, p. 9).

Likewise, in the realm of fiscal management and evaluation, there exists a weakness in the accountability system. Information relative to programs, costs, and number of clients being served is collected and accumulated, but once stored is irretrievable for meaningful use. The purchase of service, form 8 (POS-8) is given by workers as an example. They constantly are repeating relatively the same information over and over again on POS-8 forms. It is perceived as a waste of time, since the stored information cannot be retrieved. In addition to storing information, the

fiscal management unit is responsible for private provider contracts. There are serious problems in the control exerted over the contracting process. One indicator of the problem can be described by the fact that during 1976-77 the lists of contracts could not be reconciled, not even with the Comptroller's Office. The Department of Public Welfare computer payment system made several double payments to its providers of care (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 17). Programs are often evaluated by individuals who have no power to grant or deny a contract. One director stated in an interview that "I don't know how much my input is considered. A day care center got a contract even though the supervisor did not think the center was very good." Consequently much government money is spent by the private provider with little or no control by the state. Once a contract is given, termination is rare ("Title XX Administrative Review," 1979, p. 33) and (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 37).

Functional organization and management. The State Department of Public Welfare is responsible for two major functions: (1) to provide assistance payments to eligible clients; and (2) to provide social services to families and children. The assistance payments system is more of an administrative function involving tasks related to the determination of eligibility for financial aid and monitoring

the recipients' budget for changes that affect the size of the grant. Although the assistance payments aspect of public welfare is a major part of their operation, this study will focus only on the second major function of public welfare: the provision of social services to families and children.

The separation of these two functions into a dual operation was set forth by President John F. Kennedy in 1962 in his rationale for developing service programs within the public welfare system. He recommended a "new public welfare program, one which stresses services instead of support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency" (Weiss, 1970, p. 316). Since 1974, each local welfare office in Massachusetts has been required to perform these two major functions separately ("Understanding Welfare 1976," 1976, p. 11).

Specialized functions. The Social Services Department is bureaucratically divided into several units, with descriptive specialized functions. However, locus of control for some of the delivered services is often placed in other units in other offices. This affects the smoothness of service operations as well as the efficient responses to human needs. The units in the category of social services are: Intake and Referral, Protective Services for Abused and Neglected Children, Day Care, Homemaking and Chore Services,

Foster Care, Babysitting, Work Incentive Program, Residential Group Care Services, Adoption, and Case Management. All of the services indicated are the basic mechanisms used to keep families together, which is the primary goal of the welfare system.

Although caseworkers are responsible for all cases which come through their intake and referral system, the locus of control for some services is not at the area level. For example, a caseworker wishing to place a child in a residential group setting must negotiate such a placement with group care staff who are located in the central office. Protective care cases are divided into two types, abuse and neglect. In those circumstances where abuse is determined, the case is referred to the responsible regional staff. Neglect cases are assigned to the relevant area caseworker. In situations where children are eligible for adoption, the adoption unit in the central office is responsible. Foster care placement is the responsibility of the line caseworker, but negotiations for that placement must be conducted with a homefinder. In some regions the homefinder is located in the regional office and in others, in area offices ("Understanding Welfare 1976," 1976, p. 12) and (Warren, 1976, pp. 6-8). Since all services are not area based, service delivery is made more complicated and difficult. The full implications of such an arrangement are not immediately

evident to the outsider. It becomes clearer when a caseworker explains that "it took three months to get records of a child from the Group Care Unit at Central so that the brother of the child could have custody."

Service provision. In terms of the service providers, line caseworkers provide more direct services than regional or central staff. In instances where the department cannot directly provide the service, private providers are obtained through a purchase of service mechanism. The private agency is then responsible for providing the direct service at a cost to the state. The line caseworker, however, is responsible for knowing what the situation is with the individual members of their caseload at all times, and for keeping reports on the progress of their cases whether they are directly or indirectly providing the service. This fact is extremely important, since social workers are responsible for whatever happens to cases in their caseload at any time. Because these caseloads are frequently very high, the responsibility is doubly weighty. A case in point was an article in the Boston Globe which stated that "many of the 10,000 children placed in foster care are not receiving proper services from Welfare" (Boston Globe, December 3, 1978, p. 40). One reason for this lack is attributed by caseworkers to high caseloads and too much paper work.

Local areas. As previously stated, there are forty local area offices across the Commonwealth. They vary in size, attractiveness, and atmosphere. Some are housed in old factory type buildings which are in need of repair, others are in housing projects, and still others are in office buildings. In a study by Horejsi et al., it was stated by welfare caseworkers that

> in order to perform effectively, we need a supportive work environment. We deserve clean, cheery offices with adequate space and in good repair. We should have basic support systems such as adequate telephone service, supplies, and machines, all of which are necessary for running an office efficiently (Horejsi et al., 1977, p. ix).

Greenblatt and Richmond, welfare caseworkers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, stated recently in their case study of public welfare that:

> the work location and physical working conditions are generally the same as for the Assistance Payments social worker . . . Physical conditions in most locations are crowded, make-shift, dirty and depressing. City offices are worse than rural offices (Greenblatt & Richmond, 1979, p. 43).

From field interviews this writer learned that the functions and procedures communicated by the central office are essentially the same for each area office. Operational differences exist; however, they may be attributable to individual management style, level of personal commitment to the department, or distance from the central and/or regional

office. Regardless of the size or the location of an office, shared drawbacks were observable, e.g., poor heating facilities, lack of private interviewing space, and lack of proper ventilation.

In summary, social workers in the Commonwealth discover themselves within a system which is hierarchical and bureaucratic in structure. Although these social workers perceive themselves as professionals, their expectations of professional treatment and relationships are not borne out in the reality. It is clear from interviews that the organization's communication system is often complex and confusing, and as a bureaucracy it exhibits a weakness in fiscal accountability and control. The organization has specialized caseworker functions, which are often difficult to carry out because of the shifts in locus of control. Although privy to the same regulations and communications, area offices vary because of size, distance from Boston, or management style. This description of the milieu out of which public welfare caseworkers function provides a framework for understanding the attitudes workers have toward their work environment.

Social Work as a Marginal Profession

It is currently acknowledged that professions are considered to be of great importance to the American culture.

They occupy a position of such esteem, that individuals, groups, and organizations consistently struggle to have their occupation identified as a profession. Professional practices and theories are considered to be avenues to a better world for everyone. The professions imply a special relationship to laymen that accords the professional deference, authority, and trust and an institutional setting such as the hospital or court within which professional activities occur (Argyris, 1974, p. 146). Since esteem and respect are human needs often satisfied by membership in an esteemed profession, it is understandable why individuals hold the professions in such high admiration.

In analyzing the literature, it is clear that all occupations are not considered to be professions. In 1915 Flexner wrote that social work could not qualify as a full-fledged profession because it was not founded on a body of scientific knowledge (Flexner, 1915, pp. 576-590). While great strides have been made towards professionalism in social work since that time, (there were no graduate schools in social work in 1915) casework which is considered to be the "scientific" technique of the social worker is still not considered to be the monopoly of social work but is used by other professional practitioners as well. This makes it difficult to say exactly what social work does that no other profession can do, which is a salient

criterion of a profession. Social work practice is not founded on an exclusive body of knowledge as are the established professions of medicine, law and ministry (McCormick, 1966, p. 639) and (Reynolds, 1965, p. 255). Social work does not enjoy the authority to speak and to perform as do these established professions (Greenwood, 1957, pp. 46-47) and (Braude, 1975, pp. 105-109) and (Etzioni, 1975, p. 321). Furthermore, semi-professions like social work are frequently questioned by the public as to their authority, and in addition, have to subject their decisions to superiors or supervisors. Their communications with clients are not privileged information and therefore can be subpoenaed by the court. This does not happen in the established professions. Another important difference is that the professional in social work is only currently being required to obtain a license in order to engage in private practice. Membership in professional organizations has usually been restricted to individuals who have acquired the academic education, but since 1969, individuals obtaining a Bachelor of Arts degree in Social Work can apply for membership in the National Association of Social Workers. This privilege is no longer the private domain of graduates with Master's degrees. Hughes (1958) links social workers with nurses and librarians who are

attempting to achieve recognition as professionals. Etzioni (1975) would also include teachers.

In order for an occupation to be considered a profession, certain criteria, which have been identified by researchers, must be present. Ernest Greenwood notedly and succinctly says that "all professions seem to possess: (1) systematic thecry, (2) authority, (3) community sanction, (4) ethical codes, and (5) a culture." He suggests that while these attributes are characteristic of established professions, semi or non-professions also have them but to a lesser degree. The true difference for him then, becomes one of quantity and not quality (Greenwood, 1957, p. 45). Because of this Toren feels

> social work is already a profession; it has too many points of congruence with the model [of professions] to be classified otherwise. Social work is however, seeking to rise within the professional hierarchy, so that it too might enjoy maximum prestige, authority, and monopoly, which presently belong to a few top professions (Toren [cited in Etzioni, 1969, p. 145]).

Greenwood's concepts of having authority and community sanction are shared by Becker, who sees the image of the profession and the professional as "occupying an esteemed position in society . . . and entitled to an important voice in community affairs" (Becker, 1962, pp. 37-38). In a discussion of the historical origins of a profession, Chris Argyris notes the attributes of values connected

with the profession such as medicine with health, law with justice and education with truth. The professions have ideologies that are expressed as paradigms, ethics that are binding on the practictioner, techniques that constitute the specialized skills, and institutions that are suitable for the practice of professional techniques (Argyris, 1974, p. 147).

Further distinctions between a nonprofessional and a professional occupation are that nonprofessional occupations have customers while professional occupations have clients. A customer determines what services or commodities he wants, while it is assumed a client is dependent on the judgment of the professional for a diagnosis of his situation. However, it is possible for a client to reject a particular diagnosis. In addition, within the professions there are ranges of appropriate behaviors for seeking admittance into the professions, for gaining entry into its formal and informal groups, and for progressing within the occupation's hierarchy (Greenwood, 1957, p. 52). In the past, professionals performed services primarily for the psychic satisfactions and secondarily for the monetary compensations (Johnson, 1944, pp. 1181-1189). Today monetary compensations appear to rival psychic needs as motivating factors.

Within the field of social work there is still the struggle to be identified as a full-fledged profession. Kadushin states that "on the basis of research available it would appear that, in the image of the public, social work is a minor, if not a marginal profession" (Kadushin, 1958, p. 40). He feels this is primarily so because social work is viewed as women's work, and serves resourceless clients. In addition, the aura of tradition is lacking, wages are low, the social worker most often has employee status, and only a small percentage of social workers actually meet full educational qualifications (Kadushin, 1958, p. 40). While there is agreement on the need for graduate education in the field of social work, most welfare workers who are employed in public welfare do not meet this standard. Because of this fact, the next subsection of this chapter will discuss the dilemma of the social work professional.

Definition of a social worker. Since a primary requisite for an occupation to be classified as a profession is the practice of a systematic body of knowledge, it is assumed that the individual who absorbs this knowledge and puts it into practice is a professional. However, within the field of social work, there is ambivalence regarding the welfare worker's professional status. Individuals working within public welfare refer to themselves as social workers and

are called such by certain publics. Yet these same individuals quite frequently have not been educated in the art of social work practice. In researching the literature relative to the professional status and identity of public welfare workers, it is obvious that there is some ambiguity in this area. The most blatant problem is the definition of a social worker. Joseph Eaton presents a list of operational criteria for a social worker. His definition of a social worker is

> a person who has graduated from a school of social work; a white collar employee of a social work agency; a person who occupies a job which administratively is classified as requiring a social worker (Eaton, 1956, p. 12).

Eaton's criteria allows for a wide range of social worker types and so does little to help define the professional role. Carol Meyer, on the other hand, is very clear in her definition. She limits professional status to those individuals who hold a Master's Degree in Social Work. Individuals with a Bachelor of Arts Degree are considered by her to be nonprofessionals (Meyer, 1966, p. 200). This perspective is the same as that held by Henry Maas, who states that

> child welfare agencies have for some time employed nonprofessional personnel. These have generally been college educated workers trained in areas other than social work. However, the agencies continue to face the problem of finding a sufficient number of professionals (Maas, 1971, p. 45).

The fact that within public welfare, caseworkers are termed professionals is due primarily to a lack of differentiation between the job activities of the professional and nonprofessional staff. A researcher in 1971 found that "during the time of the study 86 percent of the nonprofessional workers were assigned the same kind of jobs as professional workers." Furthermore, there was similarity rather than difference in both kind and degree of controls used in supervising professional and nonprofessional workers--agency policies were almost the same for professionals and nonprofessionals and 96 percent of the nonprofessionals participated in inservice training that included professional workers (Jones, 1966, pp. 322-323). Functionally, it is difficult to make a distinction between the professional and nonprofessional worker. This fact has led some professionals to feel overprepared for the work (Wasserman, 1970, pp. 95-100). The inability to establish firmly standards for professionality within the social work occupation has created problems in terms of identifying social work as a profession as well as the diffusion of the esteem and status levels associated with professions.

Occupational status. The ambivalence about the critical ingredients necessary to develop a qualified professional social worker is very important when consideration is given to the need for esteem, prestige and status which

individuals seek through their occupations. No matter what the occupations may be, individuals are motivated to seek satisfaction for their lower as well as their higher basic human needs. For most adults their behavior patterns are to a large extent influenced by the work they do. Eaton has found that in addition to social status, the place of residence of individuals and their friendship patterns tend to be correlated with their occupation (Eaton, 1956, pp. 11-26).

There has been much preoccupation with professionalization and occupational prestige within the social work profession. The professional status or prestige of any job category is an important issue for individuals who have chosen that particular category as their line of work. Everett C. Hughes (1958) in his research found that the work of persons is one of the more important parts of their social identity. Because of this importance, groups attempt to revise the conceptions which their various publics have of the occupation in an effort to professionalize their work. Hughes notes that:

> Occupations are a combination of price tag and calling card. Hear a salesman who has just been asked what he does reply, "I'm in sales work" or "I am in promotional work," not "I sell skillets." School teachers sometimes turn school teaching into educational work (Hughes, 1958, p. 42).

This attempt to raise continuously one's status is a

concept supported by Lee Braude. The ostensible and ultimate goal of changing the name of one's occupation is to become eventually a professional (Braude, 1975, p. 112). While there are any number of occupations within a job category, the particular occupational role of an individual has significant effect upon feelings of self-esteem. Kadushin, in a discussion on the prestige of social work, states that the prestige of social work is a matter of importance to the individual social worker, the social work client, and the social work profession. It affects the individual social worker's concept of self, relationships with representatives of other occupations, and feelings about the job. It affects the client in that the prestige of the profession, if great in the mind of the client, increases the social worker's ability to influence the client. It affects the profession because of its consequences for recruitment (Kadushin, 1958, pp. 37-38). Linton indicates that "professional status also seems to be affected by the prestige of the person for whom a service is rendered" (Linton [cited in Eaton, 1956, p. 19]). Given the fact that welfare clients are perceived as resourceless and are the primary persons for whom services are rendered, the status of the welfare worker must be extremely negatively affected. This is a salient point since "a man's work is

one of the more significant things by which he is judged, and certainly one of the more significant things by which he judges himself" (Hughes, 1958, p. 42).

Occupations with low prestige levels are limited in their capacity to attract and recruit qualified workers. Thus the boomerang comes full circle. Unqualified workers detract from the prestige of an occupation, and occupations with low prestige levels cannot attract qualified workers within public welfare. The literature in general seems to indicate that there is a need for social workers to break this circle if their occupation is ever to be considered fully professional. Kadushin states that

> prestigeful [sic] occupations have a high positive valence and thus tend to attract more, and better qualified, candidates. The opposite will of course, be true for occupations which are low in prestige" (Kadushin, 1958, p. 38).

He continues and quotes Ernest F. Witte as stating that the single most important factor affecting recruitment is the question of occupational status (Witte, 1956, p. 98).

The status level of an occupation determines in large measure the prestige and esteem accorded those individuals who hold positions within that occupation. The need for self-esteem as well as the esteem of others is quite clearly spelled out in Maslow's theory of human motivation. He feels that

> all people in our society (with a few pathological exceptions) have a need or desire for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others. These needs may therefore be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery and competence, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom. Second, we have what we may call the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), status, fame, glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity, or appreciation. Satisfaction of the self-esteem needs leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability, and adequacy, of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness. These feelings in turn give rise to either basic discouragement or else compensatory or neurotic trends (Maslow, 1970, p. 45).

This assertion regarding feelings of self-esteem leading to feelings of self-confidence and a sense of competence is also developed by other writers. All human beings need to feel a sense of competence (White, 1959, pp. 297-333). Competence may be defined as the solving of problems by developing those solutions which prevent their recurrence, and doing so with minimum utilization of energy (Argyris, 1964, p. 24). Self-esteem is developed by dealing with the world competently in such a way that people can assign the solution of the problems to themselves, their abilities, to their efforts, to their work (Argyris, 1964, pp. 24-26).

Job satisfaction. Status, prestige and esteem are important elements when considering the issue of job satisfaction. Individuals are said to be satisfied with their jobs when they have reached a state (1) where their tendencies have (for the moment at least) reached their goal; (2) where the affective condition is that of persons who have gained their desires (Hoppock, 1935, p. 47). Hoppock (1935) found in his study of job satisfaction that it was influenced by status, self-esteem, and self-respect. It was also connected with aspects of the job, selection and training of personnel, supervision, and personal choice of vocation. Lurie (1965) found that

> increasingly, employees in the social welfare field recognize a positive correlation between efficient productivity of staff members and the degree to which employees find satisfaction in salaries and working conditions (Lurie, 1965, p. 54).

While this is relevant information, it is not significant to those researchers concerned with causality. It has not been proven definitively that job satisfaction increases worker productivity. While Lurie (1965) finds a positive correlation between efficient productivity and satisfaction in salaries and working conditions, Herzberg (1959) would state that positive hygiene factors would not increase job satisfaction, only limit job dissatisfaction. For

Athanasiou (1969), "satisfaction implies a positive emotional state which may be totally unrelated to productivity" (Athanasiou, 1969, p. 79). Vroom (1964) found an absence of consistent correlation between job satisfaction and performance and so suggests that some conditions may produce high satisfaction and low performance. Others may produce low satisfaction and high performance, and still others high satisfaction and high performance or low satisfaction and low performance (Vroom, 1964, p. 187).

The role of supervision in social work. The quality of supervision has been found in many studies to relate significantly to job satisfaction. Kadushin states that the quality of supervision is a significant factor in professional socialization, social work job satisfaction, and job turnover (Kadushin, 1976, p. 1). This fact is supported by Samuel Miller (1970) who studied the components of job satisfaction of beginning social workers and found that the technical incompetence of the supervisor was one of the most frequent sources of dissatisfaction (Miller, [cited in Kadushin, 1976, p. 1]). Kermish and Kushin (1969) found that of six principle reasons for terminating employment with welfare, four were related to the quality of supervision (Kermish & Kushin, 1969, p. 137). A nationwide report of 1600 workers in thirty-one social welfare and

rehabilitation agencies states that agency scores on the supervision variable were accompanied by greater satisfaction, better agency performance and higher agency competence (Olmstead & Christensen, 1973, p. 304). Aiken, Smits and Lollar (1972) in studying workers in rehabilitation agencies found importance placed on the interpersonal behavior between the supervisor and the counselor (Aiken, et al., 1972, pp. 65-73). Still other researchers have found other variables related to job satisfaction. These problems of workers and supervisors are probably related to the larger issue of professionals being subjected to supervision. This is still an open question for investigation and analysis.

Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson and Capwell did a review of the early literature relative to job attitudes. They found that security was ranked as most important by a great many workers, and that attitudes related to age in twenty-three studies. From their investigation they felt unable to make a general statement about the role of education in job satisfaction, because three studies showed an increase, five showed no increase, and five showed no effect of education on morale (Herzberg, et al., 1957, p. 16). It could be that concern about security is related to who chooses to become a social worker given the state of the profession.

Job satisfaction and occupational position. In studying perceptions, attitudes, and values in various industrial societies, Inkeles found that respondents who reported satisfaction with their jobs decreased as one moved downward in the occupational hierarchy (Inkeles, 1960, p. 5). Argyris (1964) in his examination of the literature agrees with Inkeles that "the higher up the organizational ladder and/or the greater the professionalization, the higher the probability that people will report intrinsic work satisfaction" (Argyris, 1964, p. 53). There is sufficient evidence to suggest that organizational level does have a recognizable effect on morale. In a review of the literature relative to job attitudes and occupational performance by Athanasiou (1969), he quotes Porter and Lawler as stating that studies

> seem to be nearly unanimous in concluding that job satisfaction or morale does increase monotonically with increasing levels of management, and that therefore, middle managers are more satisfied than those below them in the organization but less satisfied than those above (Porter & Lawler, 1965, p. 27).

In a comprehensive study, a fairly recent U.S. Government task force found that the level of satisfaction with one's work is directly related to the level of:

1. prestige of the job
2. autonomy: control over the conditions of work
3. cohesiveness of the work group, which facilitates interaction

4. challenge and variety of the task
5. employer concern and involvement of employees in decision making
6. wages, with respect to both amount and "relative deprivation" felt by the worker; his perception of adequacy of wages, when compared with those of others performing similar tasks
7. mobility potential of the job: workers want to feel that there exists in a job a potential for movement upward through the skill hierarchy, the occupational hierarchy, the organizational structure in which the work is performed, or any combination of the three
8. satisfactory working conditions
9. job security (Work in America, 1973, pp. 36-96).

While it cannot be said that job satisfaction will increase productivity, various studies have noted that job dissatisfaction will result in constant turnover. This literature review is essential to the understanding of the social worker since the state of the occupation as the literature reveals it, is ambiguous and this in turn is related to the nature of the work as well as the preparation for it.

Job satisfaction and turnover. In a study by HEW (1971) on worker job mobility, it was found that "those whose job satisfaction is high are less likely to leave than those whose job satisfaction is low" (HEW, 1971, p. 59). The strongest relationships have been found between job satisfaction, absenteeism and turnover (Athanasiou, 1969; Meyer, 1962) as opposed to job satisfaction and increased or consistent productivity.

Job satisfaction is important mainly because it indicates the absence of job dissatisfaction. It allows the employer to believe that possibly the prestige, status, and esteem needs of the employees are being met. It allows the employer to feel that the working conditions within the agency are adequate, wages are competitive, and job security is assured. However, the literature indicates that the relationship between motivation and job satisfaction is complex and needs further study. Studies to date clearly indicate however, that job dissatisfaction will negatively affect the agency through the turnover and absenteeism of its employees.

The Bureaucrat vs. the Professional Social Worker

For the professional social worker with a Master's Degree in Social Work (M.S.W.) there is an inherent conflict between the professional practice and the bureaucratic regulations of the welfare department. The situation arises because of the bureaucracy's desire to have degreed social workers adhere to the agencies' numerous rules and regulations. In the study done by Horejsi et al. (1977), he quotes a worker's perspective:

> The tremendous growth of the welfare bureaucracy has produced increasing demands on the individual worker for accountability and adherence to guidelines and procedures. At the same time it has

> vastly increased the distance between the worker and the sources of such bureaucratic demands. As a result, public welfare workers find themselves more and more involved with paper work and procedures which they view as boring, dehumanized, [or] authoritarian (Horejsi, et al., 1977, p. 1).

Green would say this is inevitable when the areas of divergence are fully considered. In his study, he found a number of writers state that the professional and the bureaucrat operate within different systems of authority and control, respond to different reference groups and different rewards, hold different attitudes toward services to the client, and make decisions on different bases (Green, 1965, p. 71). By definition according to Weber, bureaucracies rest on legal-rational authority which places the power in the position of an office and not in the individual person. They are characterized ideally by a belief in specialization, hierarchy of offices, technical competence, rules and regulations, and impartiality (Light & Keller, 1975, pp. 267-271).

Within the bureaucracy of public welfare, human services are specialized, and the direct service workers are bound by numerous rules and regulations regarding service delivery. Caseworkers in a given situation are not expected to make decisions based on personal judgment without consultation with supervisors or reference to the procedures

manual. Since most of the workers within the department are not professionals with M.S.W. degrees, the conflict and frustration which arises between professional and bureaucratic procedures is due more to the time consuming paper work than to a knowledge of professional educational theory or clinical practice. According to Billingsley, a "bureaucratic orientation pattern" on the part of a social worker tends to give primacy to agency policies and procedures in the resolution of any conflicting expectations (Billingsley, 1964, pp. 400-407). Caseworkers, because of inadequate professionalization will begin to make their true occupation status that of technicians rather than professionals (Steinman, Welch & Comer, 1973, p. 269).

Professional social worker. On the other hand, for the few professional social workers with M.S.W.'s in the department, there is often a conflict situation. Social workers adopting a professional pattern would tend to give primacy to the norms, values, and expectations of their profession rather than to the particular organization in which they work (Billingsley, 1964, pp. 400-407) and (Meyer, 1966, pp. 73-77). They will employ values which focus on sensitivity to persons and humaneness and will attempt to help each client in whatever way possible, and as efficiently and effectively as possible. They do this because

"professional training in social work not only imparts knowledge and skills but also has an important socializing function: namely, to inculcate an orientation toward clients that combines impersonal detachment with serious concern for their welfare" (Blau, 1960, p. 361). They will admit to the fact that the rules and procedures outlined for them are not meaningful or appropriate in many situations.

Impediments to services. Bureaucratic procedures are often seen as impediments to services, and a waste of the professional's time. Ruth Middleman and Gale Golberg would term all work that is "once removed from the direct engagement with the client task as the metawork--the activities that may enhance the work but are aside from the work itself (Middleman & Golberg, 1974, p. 157). Included in the metawork is recording, and "red tape," which is indicative of a written communication system in a bureaucracy (Middleman & Golberg, 1974, p. 157). As much as the bureaucratic structure allows, the professional social worker will prioritize case management techniques over what can be considered as secretarial tasks or "metawork." According to Peter M. Blau, "welfare agencies have not been successful in attracting professionally trained personnel not only

because of their low pay but also because of the ideology of professional social workers" (Blau, 1960, pp. 341-361).

In summary, it is clear that often welfare workers within any department of public welfare suffer from a stigma attached to their being nonprofessionals in an occupation struggling to be a profession, and which lacks the necessary level of esteem, prestige and status to be highly rewarding to its constituents. These welfare workers are also confronted daily with attempts to behave professionally without the necessary education, in a bureaucracy which discourages professionalism.

This chapter has described the Department of Public Welfare in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in order to create a context for an appreciation of the social work dilemma. It has provided an overview of the literature as it relates to social work and the social work professional, unveiling the ambiguous situation of the welfare caseworker. It has reviewed literature relative to issues of job satisfaction documenting the need for self-esteem, respect and status to be fulfilled through one's occupation, and indicates the limited ability of public welfare work to provide this fulfillment. In addition, research has been cited showing the continuous conflict between bureaucratic and professional standards within public welfare which could

discourage professional social workers from working in public welfare. The next chapter will discuss the method employed to gather new data for the specific analysis of the worker environment as it influences the job performance of the caseworker.

C H A P T E R III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In 1976, a seven month investigation for the chairman of the Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee was conducted by the Institute for Governmental Services of the University of Massachusetts. The university designated specifically a task force to assess the delivery of services to children in six human service agencies within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The results of this comprehensive study were subsequently published in a document called The Children's Puzzle. (See Appendix D.) As a member of this task force, I became interested in analyzing why working for the Department of Public Welfare seemed to be held in such low esteem by the public in general, and by various agency personnel in particular. This curiosity led to reviewing the available literature related to public welfare. It was evident in most of these studies that few researchers had treated the work environment of Public Welfare from the perspective of the workers. Since this was a substantive area not highlighted in The Children's Puzzle or in other known studies, I decided to conduct a

descriptive study that presented the perceptions of selected social service workers regarding their work environment within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It was expected that such a study would reveal critical elements within the work situation which affect feelings of esteem as well as suggest implications for the quality of the delivery of social services in Massachusetts.

Methodological Approach

After reflection on the different methodologies for investigation, I decided that I would use a specific qualitative approach. This decision was a result of pragmatic and analytic factors. The rationale includes the placing of this decision in the broad perspective of available methods.

In the broad sense, methodology refers to the process, principles and procedures by which problems are approached and responses sought (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 1). The two major approaches to methodology are quantitative and qualitative. In general, a researcher using a quantitative approach to the collection of data, begins her work by interacting with persons, taking notes, examining documents, making films and tapes and from these observations develops formal schedules and questionnaires which can be administered to large samples of people without further

interpersonal contact. The products of these instruments are then organized, tabulated, graphed, summarized, coded or symbolized. Finally the data appears in standardized notation systems (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979, pp. 3-5).

A qualitative approach, on the other hand, employs a phenomenological perspective which allows the researcher to adopt the actor's own frame of reference. (See Bogdan & Taylor, 1975.) It is important to report observations in the natural language of those persons observed. Seldom are numbers or counts assigned to the materials collected. Usually the quantitative method is used in gathering and interpreting data relative to job attitudes in industrial settings. Since it was of value to this researcher however to convey to others the situation of working for public welfare from the point of view of those who were actually involved in that day to day interaction, a qualitative methodology seemed more appropriate.

In beginning this research, no questions were previously designed which focused on any pre-conceived hypothesis. During the process of collecting data for The Children's Puzzle an hypothesis was generated by what was perceived to be occurring in the situation. This hypothesis was then used in re-analyzing the data for this study. The qualitative method was adhered to specifically in order to grasp as realistically as possible what it is like to

work for the Office of Social Services, within the Department of Public Welfare. The data collected for this study were based on the verbal and non-verbal behavior of the social service workers in the system. The expressions of workers were observed and recorded as they defined their situation. The tone and type of language they used was noted and attention was given to the significance of their work settings. Data also included facial and bodily expressions evoked when certain issues were mentioned.

The differences discovered through this qualitative approach are important because the concern here is with the work environment of human service workers about which little is known. Most work studies study industry, and individuals working in industry interact more with objects than persons. Such industrial studies lend themselves to a quantitative approach since it is easier to quantify satisfaction with products than it is to quantify satisfaction with the gradual development of a person. Despite the fact that attitudes of work groups in industry toward their work environment have been dissected by sociologists and anthropologists for many years, still there is a large need for revelatory descriptive qualitative investigations into the job attitudes of those in human service areas (Herzberg, 1959, p. 13). As Habenstein (1970) points out, "Nurses, social

workers, and schoolteachers do constitute some of the more vital of all our human service occupations and deserve continued study, for their role and function remain too important ever to be taken for granted, or worse, ignored" (Habenstein, 1970, p. 101). This qualitative methodology reveals the social service worker's view of what it is like to work for the Office of Social Services. People interpret institutional behavior differently. Furthermore they focus their attention on different aspects of institutional behavior (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 11). I used interviews to provide a comprehensive picture of social service workers' own perceptions of their work environment.

The specific theoretical framework used in this qualitative design flows from the perspective of symbolic interaction. Herbert Blumer coined the phrase based primarily on George Herbert Mead's germinating ideas regarding the interaction between the mind, self, and society.

According to Mead, all group life or society is essentially a matter of cooperative behavior, characterized by symbolic interaction. The use of significant symbols allows individuals to pass from the conversation of gestures to occasionally taking the role of others, which enables them to share the perspectives of others (Mead, 1934, pp. 254-269). Mead (1934) contributed to the increasing acceptance of the view that human conduct is carried on

primarily by the defining of situations in which one acts. Human behavior is behavior in terms of what situations symbolize (Mead, 1934, pp. 75-82).

Herbert Blumer (1962) further clarifies the theory by saying that the pecularity of symbolic interaction consists in the fact that

> human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another, but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. This human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of another's actions. (Blumer [cited in Rose, 1962, p. 180]).

The concept of the self as described by Mead is an important one to Blumer for it implies that individuals can indicate whatever they are conscious of to themselves. Through this process they can guide further acts. Accordingly, human behavior is a result of the action constructed. Experience shows that people are constantly in a process of interpreting and defining their various situations. These situations only have meaning through the interpretation of the acting unit. The acting unit identifies those issues it must take into account, such as obstacles, tasks, opportunities, means, demands, discomforts and dangers. The interpretative behavior may take place in individuals, or in "agents" acting on behalf of a group or organization. As

W. I. Thomas notes, "It is not important whether or not the interpretation is correct--if [people] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, 1928, p. 572).

Related to the theory of symbolic interaction is role theory. In fact, according to Kuhn (1962) it is not sharply distinguishable, if at all, from symbolic interactionism (Kuhn, 1962, p. 67). The emphasis in role theory is on overt role playing and on the researchable relationship between role expectations and role performance. There is less emphasis on role-taking and the interior processes of the self. In his application of role theory to a school system, Getzels includes the dimensions of the individual's personality and disposition and thus uses a social-psychological theory of analysis which is closely related to the theory of symbolic interactionism. Getzels feels that it is not enough to know only the nature of roles and expectations within a social system, but it is also important to know the nature of the individuals inhabiting the roles, and how they perceive and react to expectations (Getzels [cited in Lindzey & Gardner, 1968, pp. 459-523]). Their reaction is based on their perceptions or definitions. It is not predetermined by the role.

Procedures

Guided by the theoretical framework outlined above, the original materials gathered during the field work phase of The Children's Puzzle were re-examined, and the indirect questions from the interview guide which could elicit information on the working environment were selected out for further analysis. The relevant items were taken from the following categories:

Category III--Description of Job Function

(a) Would you tell me about your role in your agency?
(b) How long has this been your function?
(d) How are decisions made as to whether a child or family will receive services?
(e) Describe your intake and referral process.
(f) Describe how cases are assigned to workers.

Category IV--Organizational Structure

(a) How would you describe the organizational structure in this office? i.e., line relationships.
(c) What is the process for the selection of workers? The termination of workers?
(d) Describe the training procedures for workers, initial and on-going.
(e) Would you generally describe for me, staff stability in your office? i.e., length of time in service, etc.
(f) In what ways would you say your education and experience are commensurate with your job function?

Category V--Inter and Intra Agency Relationships

(a) Describe your relationship to your supervisor.
(b) Tell me about your relationship to your regional office.

(c) How would you describe the relationship of your regional office to the central office?
(d) In what ways do you relate to the central office?
(e) How would you describe the communication flow in your agency?
(f) What is your relationship to other state agencies? Private providers?
(g) What is your relationship to the courts?
(See Appendix B for entire interview guide.)

As a second step in my procedure, all of the interviews from the area offices in social services were then analyzed to assess which topics emerged when those questions were asked. During the original study in which the writer was involved, field notes from each individual interview were manually recorded by interviewers during the interview process, and subsequently written out more fully. A predesigned interview form was also available from the original materials that requested information regarding the date of the interview, the name of the agency, the location, the bureau-division or office, and the name of the interviewee. It also requested the position of the individual interviewed, and the name of the interviewer. Space was provided for the content of the interview as well as observations of behaviors made by the researcher and any notes regarding necessary future contact and follow-up.

Interviewers were selected on the bases of particular skills in interviewing individuals concerned with the development of social programs, psychology and counseling,

accounting and budgeting, special education, law, the courts, adjudicated juveniles, administration and management. The training process, taking into account the variety of personalities and skills of the interviewers, emphasized the approach of learner and not expert during the interview procedures. This approach facilitated the gathering of more relevant information since the interviewers did not present themselves as already possessing the necessary understanding of the total agency. In addition, the respondents were free to tell the story from their perspective without being significantly influenced by the interviewers.

Initially, two interviewers were paired during interviews in order to give each other immediate feedback on the interview process. This was the most significant means used to gain consistency of approach. After interviews were recorded, they were read by the group as a further measure to gain consistency.

Data from The Children's Puzzle also provided a broad perspective of the department's situation, since interviews were held with various workers in all areas of the Commonwealth, and in different work situations within the department. For this study, 150 interviews were selected out of the total group for analysis. The interviews were chosen because of the amount of descriptive data each

contained. They also were reflective of a cross section of the Commonwealth, since area offices from each region were represented. Interviews from the regional and central offices were not used. Seventy-eight interviews were those of social service caseworkers, forty-one were from supervisors, sixteen were those of directors of community service centers, and fifteen were from assistants of social services in the centers. The community service centers represented were:

New Bedford	--	13	Grove Hall	--	5
Southbridge	--	12	Hawkins St.	--	5
Pittsfield	--	9	James St.	--	5
Springfield	--	9	Fitchburg	--	4
Holyoke	--	8	Taunton	--	4
Worcester	--	7	Bourne	--	3
Brockton	--	7	Quincy	--	3
Northampton	--	7	Greenfield	--	2
Dorchester	--	6	Haverhill	--	2
Lowell	--	6	Lawrence	--	2
Hancock St.	--	6	Norwood	--	2
Falmouth	--	5	Columbia Pt.	--	2
Beverly	--	5	Washington Pk.	--	2
Woburn	--	5			

Open-ended interviews were conducted by this writer and by other team members with social service workers in twenty-six of the forty community service centers. They were gathered by interviewers traveling daily either north, south, east or west across the Commonwealth to various area offices. Some of the offices were in the center of the city, and others were in the suburban areas. All of the six regional offices were visited after the areas were completed,

and available regional personnel were interviewed. An entire working day was usually spent in an area office, with interviews being scheduled at one hour intervals. This often resulted in four or five interviews for each researcher. Interviewees were selected using as criteria the individual's availability, willingness to participate in the investigation, particular job assignment, and length of time with the department. Occasionally an individual requested an interview if not originally scheduled, and this request was honored whenever possible.

Most of the time interviewees welcomed the opportunity to voice their perspective of what was happening in social services. Since there were various job assignments, the effort was made to interview at least one person from each category. In smaller offices this sometimes meant that all of the social service staff were interviewed. In others it meant that more than one person was interviewed in each unit. The various units in the area offices had their own supervisor and were most often composed of two or more other persons. These units included the information and referral workers, generalists, child welfare specialists, protective care workers, WIN incentive program workers, homefinders, intake workers, and community organization workers. This procedure provided the opportunity to

gain a variety of perspectives about the system and its operations. No further device was used to control for bias in the selection of the interviewees. This, however, is not to imply that from the data gathered generalizations can be made to all welfare departments in all parts of the nation. It may not even be applicable to all individuals in Massachusetts working for the Office of Social Services during the life of this study. It does provide, however, some understanding of various work situations for many welfare workers in the Office of Social Services in this commonwealth.

All interviews were conducted in physical areas which were as private as possible. Frequently, this meant using the offices of supervisors or directors when they were not being interviewed themselves. When necessary, some interviews were held in cars or coffee shops to insure the level of privacy each individual desired. Every effort was made to obtain good rapport with the person interviewed. A preliminary announcement was made by the director to the service personnel before the day of the interviews. Sometimes this was well done. At other times only some individuals seemed to have been previously informed. An important drawback in the interviewing process was that time constraints would not allow for second or third visits to the same respondents.

One hundred and fifty of the original individual interviews were analyzed by the writer to learn about the work environment with as much descriptive understanding as it was possible to attain under the given constraints. The issues relative to the work environment emerged from the interviews themselves and the social context in which they occurred.

Analytic Scheme

As a first step in the analytic process, all of the interviews were read and "thought units" which were groups of words used to vividly describe the topics which occurred and reoccurred in the conversations of interviewees and which applied to the work environment in the department were underscored (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, pp. 82-83). These topics were later taken from the original forms and transcribed to index cards. Some of the conversation topics which emerged from the interviews were: civil service, permanent and temporary workers, bumping, reward and punishment, training, frequent policy changes, time lags, excessive paper work, Judge Baker Clinic, courts, compensation time and car insurance, CETA workers, physical conditions of offices, formulation of policy, and interagency communications. The negative perceptions of the department and staff turnover were also conversation topics.

These topics were coded on index cards, and comments which defined the situation, whether positive or negative, were written on the index cards with the number of the interview from which the comments were taken. Upon completion of this task, the index cards were sorted into dominant themes. These themes were defined as "four sets of agency constraints." Those comments which reflected concern about attaining or maintaining a position in the agency were coded with a red dot. Those which reflected concern in some respect about agency communication were coded with a blue dot. Those comments which reflected concern about other impediments to motivation were coded with a green dot. Issues which overlapped were designated as such by having a colored dot for each overlapping concern.

Gradually it became clear that patterns of perceptions existed. For instance, some welfare caseworkers were defining their work situation in terms of several agency constraints with little evidence of positive work incentives. Over half of the individuals perceived their job situation as insecure because of civil service regulations, permanent vs. temporary job status, and an unfair reward and punishment system. Job training was viewed as limited and generally inappropriate, and the frequency of policy changes, time lags, and excessive paper work were seen to

be highly detrimental to the delivery of services. In addition, seventy-five percent of the individuals interviewed felt they lacked involvement in agency policy development, worked in inadequate environments for interviewing, counseling, and otherwise servicing clients, and were the recipients of an unproductive interagency communication process. Table 1 records the percentage distribution of colored dot materials.

TABLE 1

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
OF COLORED DOT MATERIALS

	Case-workers	Super-visors	Direc-tors	Asst. Dir.
Red--Attaining and Maintaining a Position	74%	83%	81%	73%
Blue--Communication	64%	71%	75%	87%
Green--Impediments to Motivation	88%	80%	88%	93%

Framework for Analysis

Some further understanding of the implications of the categories and themes which emerged from the interview

materials and this writer's personal observations can be gained by an application of Herzberg's psychological theory of motivation. It can provide the framework for deliberating on the ramifications of the working conditions within which the social service welfare workers find themselves.

According to Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory, one cannot consider the elements which provide for job satisfaction, until job dissatisfaction is eliminated (Herzberg et al., 1959, pp. 113-114). A dissatisfied worker will probably not produce very well, but a satisfied worker is not a guarantee of greater productivity simply by virtue of being satisfied. Once job satisfaction is present, it is more reasonable and likely that motivation will increase if opportunities are provided by which the workers can actualize themselves. From a review of the literature by Athanasiou, it is clear that this distinction between job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction is made by some industrial psychologists including Brayfield and Crockett, 1955; Herzberg, 1957; and Katz and Kahn, 1965. Motivation is defined as the willingness to work or produce, while satisfaction implies a positive mental state which may be totally unrelated to productivity (Robinson, Athanasiou & Head, 1969, pp. 79-83). To accept these definitions as true is to say subsequently that simply because

individuals are satisfied with their occupations does not necessarily mean that individuals will be more productive on the job. Herzberg (1957) found in his studies that what made people happy in their occupations turned out to be different from the factors that made people unhappy with their jobs. His respondents were happy with their jobs when they were successful in the performance of their work and had the possibility of professional growth. Such factors he called motivators. Conversely, feelings of unhappiness were associated with the conditions that surrounded the doing of the job. These hygiene factors as Herzberg called them, included supervision, interpersonal relations, physical working conditions, salary, company policies and administrative practices, benefits and job security. If these hygiene needs were not satisfied, then job dissatisfaction resulted (Herzberg et al., 1959).

To illustrate that welfare workers lack positive work incentives needed for job satisfaction is not the only intent of this study. From an analysis of the data and a study of the literature, a new factor comes to light. There seems to be an unconscious identification process taking place between some caseworkers and clients. It appears that treatment of both the worker and the client by the welfare organization is similar. If this dynamic can

be demonstrated to be a plausible reality, an understanding of it will be a source of improvement in social work training. If real and left unrecognized, it can have detrimental effects on social workers' self perceptions and subsequently on the quality of their service delivery. The theory regarding its existence will be pursued at length in Chapter V.

C H A P T E R IV

WORKING WITHIN THE OFFICE OF SOCIAL SERVICES

Introduction

In Chapter II, a review of the literature documented that social work is still a marginal profession. This is due primarily to the fact that not all workers in the field are qualified personnel. Theoretically, educational standards set by the schools of social work require a Master's Degree in Social Work, yet operationally public welfare agencies often employ "social workers" without proper qualifications. Thus inconsistency between theory and operation has resulted in an ambivalence regarding the welfare "social worker's" professionalism. In addition, the literature indicates the limited ability of a Department of Public Welfare to satisfy the esteem, respect and status needs of their workers due to the ambivalence of professionality.

This chapter will describe what it is like to work for the Office of Social Services in the Commonwealth. The description is culled from the interviews with caseworkers, supervisors and directors. Each interview was individually obtained and generally forty-five minutes to an hour in

length. As described in Chapter III this process included qualitative analysis, from which conversation topics emerged, were coded and subsequently sorted into dominant themes of job insecurity, training, physical facilities, and on-going employer-employee relationships. These themes were then related to job dissatisfaction.

While the caseworkers never used the term job dissatisfaction, they described their work environment in language which could be categorized as agency constraints. In this chapter, therefore, four thematic sets of agency constraints will be described and Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory applied in order to illustrate when there is an absence of hygiene factors in work environments this leads to indicators of job dissatisfaction.

A discussion of the first set of agency constraints identified as "job insecurity" will focus on elements of the Civil Service process including permanent vs. temporary job status, the practice of bumping, the reward and punishment system and fringe benefits. This will be followed by an examination of agency training focusing on the following elements: appropriateness and adequacy of training for worker competency, quantity of training, formal and on-the-job training and the training of recipients. A description of the third set of agency constraints, which fall into the category of physical facilities, will include appearance,

privacy, space and equipment. This chapter will conclude with the fourth set of agency constraints which were perceived of as unproductive employer-employee relationships. These relationships are described in terms of the communication process, the lack of involvement of workers in agency decisions and policy development, the frequent policy changes resulting in time lags and excessive paper work.

Job Insecurity

Job insecurity can seriously affect a worker's attitude and performance regarding work as previously cited in Chapter II. The welfare caseworker's job insecurity arises primarily from the current selection process operating in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This is particularly exemplified in the use of Civil Service Examinations, which assigns a temporary or permanent job status to individuals, as well as encourages the practice of bumping workers.

Civil Service. The Civil Service System is the acknowledged procedure used to acquire workers for many government jobs. Technically, persons occupying a state position are required to take the Civil Service Examination, and each promotion to a higher position is based on an individual's score on the appropriate examination. As individuals pass

the examination their names are listed in competitive order and jobs are filled from this list as openings occur. Taking the examination, however, does not guarantee that the individual will become a permanent civil service worker.

According to the caseworkers interviewed, the civil service process is so ineffective that most often it is a year or two after the examination has been taken that the list of names and scores is published. According to community service center area directors

> it causes too much of a delay in filling positions so you can't fill slots quickly.

A child welfare intake worker who has been with the department for four years feels

> the time lag between job appointment and published lists is too great--it just isn't efficient.

A generalist worker who has been with the department for five years and who was hired before the results of her Civil Service Examination were known said that she "took the examination in May of '75 and got her score in July of '76." Another generalist worker stated that "there's often a two and one half year time lag between putting in for a job and possibly getting it." It is felt that the Civil Service Examination is often ignored and employers hire workers "off the streets" and not from the civil

service lists. This fact was highly upsetting to social service workers in the case of CETA employees. These CETA employees were perceived as interlopers and upsetting to the possibility of promotions for caseworkers and clerks. One director stated that there was

> unease among staff as personnel is shifted and CETA people take departmental slots.

In addition, many workers do not feel that the civil service process is selective enough to distinguish qualified workers from those who are unqualified nor does it allow credit to be given to those who gain on-the-job experience. A director of a community service area stated "civil service is grossly unfair to say that a provisional appointee holding a position can not use that position and call it experience." It was felt by a work incentive worker (WIN) who is permanent and has been with the department since 1968, that more weight should be given to experience. Some other comments which indicate how numerous caseworkers perceive civil service were:

> as long as that system exists there is no incentive to do a better job because who gets promoted is a matter of luck, like drawing cards out of a box.

> civil service can encourage stagnancy and dead wood.

> the civil service processes are seen as barriers to the acquisition and promotion of competent people.

Workers in the Office of Social Services perceive civil service as "ridiculous," "crazy," "absurd," and an "insult to one's intelligence." In summary, it is considered unfair and a major cause of low staff morale.

Four individuals interviewed commented positively about civil service, however, and felt that "doing away with civil service will not bring better people into the department." One special placement worker who became permanent after six months, and a WIN employee who was a permanent grade fourteen said "civil service works well for me." In general, workers realize that examinations should be given to gain access to promotional slots, yet they often see others and sometimes themselves the recipients of job slots which were acquired through supervisory references or some other unknown criteria.

Ironically, Civil Service Examinations are limited to advancing permanent workers rather than recognizing and promoting competent workers who do not hold a permanent slot. One worker has stated that

> once you are permanent you are all set, no matter how bad or good you are.

This statement is indicative of the insecure situation which results from a dual job status.

Permanent vs. temporary workers. A caseworker who is considered to be a permanent worker occupies an 01 state

position and in that status, the individual is rarely fired. It is a position which is guaranteed a salary even though the particular function the worker performs may change. Permanent workers can be demoted to a job which pays less salary, but the salary cannot be below the grade level for the permanent position which they occupy. The fact that there are old age retirement benefits in addition to job security is the major advantage of being given a permanent state position.

Contrary to the permanent worker, a temporary caseworker has a position which can be terminated at any time for various and sundry reasons. It is a position which is not continually guaranteed a salary, and which can be given to a permanent worker when and if it becomes necessary. This creates an unstable situation for temporary workers and in a large measure accounts for their feelings of job insecurity. Being a temporary worker takes on mammoth implications when one considers the number of temporary workers operating in the Commonwealth. An assistant director stated that in her office "seventy-five percent of the caseworkers have non-permanent positions." Another indicated that the "large number of provisional employees has added to low morale and high turnover." In addition, since there are just so many steps to be attained as a temporary worker, once the top step is reached, mobility is impossible unless

one has become permanent in a particular position. As a result, caseworkers have strong feelings about permanent vs. provisional status. This is indicated by the following comments:

> I'm stuck at step twelve until I become permanent.
>
> Civil service prevents the upward mobility of temporary employees. I can't take the Civil Service Promotion Examination until I have a permanent slot.
>
> If an employee is temporary, that person has to periodically take the examination.
>
> A civil service list came out recently and due to a screw up . . . lost four trained workers. Two are now clerks, one is unemployed, and one found another job. These four were replaced by four untrained people from A. P. [Assistance Payments]

These feelings are compounded by the fact that temporary or permanent positions seem to be gained arbitrarily. Workers seemed unable to describe the specific process and circumstances under which an individual might become permanent. It could not be determined from those individuals interviewed what length of time on a job was necessary before a temporary worker could become permanent. Of all the caseworkers interviewed the range of years for working for the department spanned from three weeks to thirteen years. With a few exceptions, those individuals interviewed who occupied a permanent position as child welfare specialists, generalists or work incentive workers were identified as

having been with the department at least seven years or more and had attained a Bachelor of Arts degree in English, economics or sociology. Supervisors who held permanent positions had worked for public welfare from thirteen to sixteen years, while all supervisors interviewed had worked for a minimum of two years up to thirty-five years. Supervisors had Bachelor of Arts degrees yet frequently in areas other than social work and sociology. A permanent generalist who has been with the department for thirteen years felt that "people should be made permanent after a certain period." From the data collected it was impossible to determine specifically and conclusively that a certain length of time, or a particular degree, would insure a permanent civil service position. This vagueness reinforces experiences of job insecurity.

Bumping. To confuse the issue even more, when individuals with temporary slots are dismissed from their positions and replaced with permanent workers, the practice is referred to as bumping. A further explanation of this practice in the context of the reward and punishment system is that permanent workers may be bumped up to temporary slots higher than their permanent positions. Bumping is seen as an outgrowth of the civil service process and the dual job

status. As such it invites disenchantment for workers attempting to function competently.

The practice of bumping is continually operative because of civil service lists and other political, bureaucratic, and situational reasons. While the practice most affects temporary workers, permanent workers are not left unscathed. It frequently happens that caseworkers or supervisors occupying temporary positions higher than their permanent ones are bumped down to their permanent grade when occasion necessitates. This often has nothing to do with the quality of individual functioning. While the loss of one's expected salary range and a new job function is unsettling, at least permanent workers do not have to contend with the complete loss of their job.

Reward and punishment system. The reward and punishment system from the perspective of those individuals interviewed is not clearly defined, nor has it functioned fairly. Within the department, the lack of its clarity causes a protective care supervisor to state she feels "uncomfortable with not being able to promote someone who has worked well." She expressed several concerns "about the lack of relationship between good work and promotions."

As she sees it,

> some people are better at one task than another. All supervisors don't want to be supervisors,

> but there's no other way to get money. There's job uncertainty and people need consistency.

According to this supervisor, there is little indication to workers that promotions are based on clearly outlined criteria, so workers are left with beliefs that

> the Office of Social Services' promotions are due to having friends or having a low permanent grade thus allowing the regional office to hold a hatchet over the head of anyone with a new temporary grade that is much higher than their old permanent grade.

Other caseworkers felt that

> promotions are based on length of service or political connections and not personal merit.

Still others indicate that the

> promotion system is not based on the work you do. It is based on a test which doesn't make for much opportunity to advance.

An administrative assistant of a community service area supports such comments by stating

> workers cannot be rewarded for good performance; [Community Service Area administrators] can't get rid of poor workers. There are too many constraints.

When questioned as to what some of these constraints might be, the individual replied:

> civil service procedures and no real back up support from central. [office]

An analysis summarized by The Children's Puzzle warrants repeating:

> The Commonwealth's personnel administration system as currently constructed fails to achieve its purpose. Riddled with exceptions and loopholes, the existing web of laws and regulations has become a disincentive to the able government workers who constitute the majority of the work force. Mediocre performance is protected, raises are automatic, able personnel are often confined to deadend positions and dismissal is virtually impossible.
>
> If the current atmosphere of apathy and distrust, the lack of reward for merit, the overly protective regulations and the politically inspired resistance are to be changed, there must be a sweeping reform of both the philosophies and procedures related to personnel administration (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 38).

A final factor related to job insecurity is the issue of compensatory time and car insurance. It was expressed as one of the several causes of low morale among workers because of

> the inability and/or unwillingness of the Department to pay overtime to workers.

While most workers said they could not get paid overtime, a few indicated that if they "work over forty hours, [they receive] overtime pay." Others indicated that "according to the Red Book, one may not have compensatory time. It is not even legal when a person works a great deal of over-time."

In addition to not being able legally to receive compensatory time, caseworkers often transport clients in their own cars, without the appropriate insurance. The agency simply does not provide car insurance for such

situations. Caseworkers feel insurance is high, and there is not even adequate recompense for wear and tear on the car. Some caseworkers have bought lunch for clients who have been out with them all day, and there is no reimbursement for that either. Caseworkers expressed that they should get appropriate compensation for work done and personal money spent.

In summary, social service caseworkers perceive a certain amount of job insecurity in working for the Office of Social Services. The elements which create this insecure environment are the perceived unfairness of the Civil Service System, the promotion of complacency among permanent workers, anxiety among temporary workers due to bumping, the stagnation of incentive among all individuals, and an ambiguous reward and punishment system. These factors as well as limited fringe benefits create a work environment incapable of satisfying the worker's basic security needs as defined by Maslow (1970). This inability of the work environment to satisfy the worker's security needs is further exemplified in the worker's perception of the training provided by the department. Feelings of job insecurity are also caused by feelings of incompetency.

Training

The academic preparation of professional social workers is an important issue to the profession of social work.

As previously stated, the literature cited illustrates the absence of such academic preparation for many "social workers" within the Department of Public Welfare. This truth highlights the absolute necessity then, for some type of training, both formal and informal. To expect individuals with A.B. degrees particularly with backgrounds in unrelated fields to be able to function professionally without prior training is at the least, unfair.

The Social Service workers interviewed for this study perceived agency training as having several important aspects. They spoke about the inadequacy of the training, relative to its appropriateness for their functioning or not and how they felt about the quantity received. They spoke of formal and on-the-job training as well as indicated those individual units crucially in need of it. Many workers voiced their feelings regarding the type of training they received, as opposed to the type they felt they needed. As a result they felt their training was inadequate. Of the 150 interviews analyzed, only two respondents felt that training was not really necessary, and that most of the welfare experience could be handled by common sense alone. One individual had been working for the department without training for five months and had a degree in business administration. The other had been with the department since 1967, with a Master of Arts in English. It was the

perception of one that reading relevant books was sufficient to prepare caseworkers to face most situations encountered while working for the department.

Inadequacy and inappropriateness of training. Contrary to the views held by two individuals, most caseworkers, as well as supervisors and directors who were interviewed, perceived training in social services to be inadequate and inappropriate. They regretted that training focused most often on learning how to fill out forms which are required before, during, and after a service is delivered. While some instruction was considered necessary, many workers felt that too much time was devoted to forms and very little training was given in the areas of care and protection, investigative methods, interviewing and counseling. The focus of the training as perceived by the social worker can be ascertained from the following verbal descriptions:

> The approach of training is often reading information.
>
> Training is in how to fill out SOC forms.
>
> 90% of training for new IRF workers focused on Assistance Payments work--only one day was on service forms, one day and a half on interviewing techniques. Training is equal to an overview of the department.
>
> Most training is relative to learning about the manual and procedural issues.

Limited expertise training in casework techniques forces the

caseworker to try to perform as a professional without the requisite skills to do so. How individual caseworkers feel about the agency's training program can further be learned from these comments:

> There has been little staff training in the last year.
>
> Social service workers need a great deal more training.

Formal and informal training. The workers also make a distinction between formal and informal or on-the-job training. Several caseworkers and directors recalled a time when new caseworkers or supervisors would be given six weeks of training. Often the caseworker would be called from the job to go through a training period. The training that is now considered formal may span from just one day and a half, to five days. The formal training, as described by the caseworker interviewed, is primarily focused on how to fill out forms, and understand the implications of new procedures. There is an absence of training in areas where they feel they need it, such as a working knowledge of the other agencies, medical training to be able to better detect abuse and neglect cases, some instruction in legal terms and court operations as well as courses in budgeting, management, counseling and interviewing. Formal training was usually held at the regional office, and was not

on-going. A supervisor of generalist caseworkers indicated that the training at regional involved

> learning interview techniques, laws, how courts perform etc. He then admitted, generalists have not had training for some time. They need to learn about new ideas.

Though several attempts were made to see a training packet, this writer was successful only once. The training packet reviewed was relative to human development, and it was the only one available. In speaking to another trainer, he stated that he only knew of one packet, and that there were no others. Being new to the unit, he contacted central office to make sure that he was correct. Central office staff informed him that training packets could be seen at the central office. This was interesting since all formal training was done by the regional offices. It was stated by one caseworker that "most of the training is in knowledge, not skills."

While caseworkers have indicated a serious need for relevant training for themselves, they are aggravated when the skill they have acquired through experience is used to train others who then supersede them in perceived competency. The Judge Baker Clinic story is an example of this problem. During the life of this study, the Judge Baker Clinic was contracted to provide protective care workers to the Department of Public Welfare to give assistance and

support in this sensitive area. Caseworkers in the department felt resentful of Judge Baker workers because they were paid at Judge Baker's rates which were a higher grade, and received Judge Baker fringe benefits. In addition, caseworkers commented that they were

> studied by Judge Baker and now Judge Baker workers are considered the experts.

In a discussion with Dr. Michael Lehan, a co-researcher in The Children's Puzzle, he recalled that

> three people who had formerly worked for the Department of Public Welfare were subsequently hired by the Judge Baker Clinic at the Judge Baker Clinic rates.

He had interviewed all three persons. Another caseworker recalls that some workers at Judge Baker were "trained by the Department of Public Welfare in student internships." Public Welfare workers expressed that they felt "insulted, demeaned and frustrated" because they felt the Judge Baker workers did not have as much experience as they did with care and protection cases, and yet were according to them

> treated and exalted as more qualified.

In addition, in court, social service caseworkers perceive their treatment by the judges as being related to their lack of training in this area. They have found that in attending court sessions, they are not treated as professional individuals. It was stated by the caseworkers that

> sometimes decisions are made by the judge without the social worker being present in the courtroom.

Workers expressed the fact that the demands of the court on the social workers are unrealistic. One worker was ordered to see a child weekly and he felt this was impossible, given his case load and other tasks. The social welfare workers perceive the judges as God-like in their autonomous decision making power to "dump kids" on the department. From the perspective of the social workers, the judges treat lawyers and probation officers with more respect than they treat welfare caseworkers. Some caseworkers expressed a need at times for a lawyer in court. When they do not understand the legal terminology, and especially in "sticky cases," they feel alone and unsupported. One caseworker expressed it by saying

> the D. P. W. [Department of Public Welfare] worker doesn't have a lawyer and the parent and child do.

Another felt

> D. P. W. workers have no right of appeal, but the client and everyone else does.

Welfare caseworkers felt that in most cases, they ultimately get responsibility for the child and not the Department of Youth Services or the Department of Mental Health. Sometimes, according to some workers

> P. O. 's [Probation Officers] try their own programs. If they don't work, they give the client back to D. P. W.

Because of these perceptions, caseworkers feel that court situations are very difficult experiences for many welfare caseworkers.

A significant part of the training is on-the-job according to several caseworkers. They described the process as reading manuals on the job since manuals may not be taken home, asking questions of their immediate supervisor or co-worker, and perhaps accompanying an experienced worker into the field. In some cases the experienced worker has worked for the department for less than one year. The on-the-job training is primarily in the form of supervision, because the supervisor is the person to whom caseworkers go for direction, clarifications, and guidance relative to the cases under their jurisdiction. The supervisor has the responsibility to interpret policy, clarify agency procedures, assist caseworkers in prioritizing their caseloads, and when necessary, give guidance relative to the best method by which to proceed. When questions arise relative to their job functioning, the supervisor is the person looked to for answers. Caseworkers hope for the opportunity to learn and grow through their supervisor, but soon discover that their supervisors lack adequate training for their job. Typical comments relative to supervision were:

> I was lucky, I had a good supervisor--most of the supervisors aren't even trained themselves.

A supervisor said of herself that she has

> no training in supervision and it's a hell of a way to run an agency.

A generalist caseworker said she doesn't

> feel trained adequately, and that she would like to see more, especially for supervisors who have mostly Assistance Payments backgrounds. Even supervisors have on-the-job training.
>
> Supervisors are not always equipped to give good supervision.

In addition to lack of adequate training to give good supervision, supervisors often miss the opportunity to respond to crises relative to their cases for weeks at a time. This is often due to the large number of cases, both those under the jurisdiction of a caseworker, and those which have not yet been assigned. An article in the Boston Globe contains a good example. A child named Terri died a crib death. Child abuse had been suspected earlier by the babysitter. However,

> for 19 days the babysitter's report had sat on a supervisor's desk. No social worker had ever been assigned to check or cover the case . . . There are an additional 2,000 uncovered cases including some 1,500 children, many of them also neglected or abused, who have been placed in foster homes but have no social worker looking in on them (Boston Globe, October 8, 1979).

Recipients. Two other concerns relative to training were brought up by several caseworkers and supervisors. The first concern included individuals transferring from Assistance Payments to Social Services. The feeling of social service workers is that their job is more difficult and sensitive and needs persons who are more than simply investigators who make financial judgments about individuals. Therefore, according to social service caseworkers, when assistance payments caseworkers transfer to the Office of Social Services, they need training to make the transition, and they do not receive it. As one caseworker described it:

> Training is needed when workers transfer from A. P. to O. S. S., but we don't provide it.

Another individual stated she "received no in-service training when I transferred to O. S. S. [Office of Social Services]"

While training for assistance payments workers when they transfer to social services is considered essential, a more important concern is the training of care and protection workers. During the life of this study many more child abuse cases were being uncovered, and the citizens of the Commonwealth as well as politicians and the welfare department were very disturbed about it. The need for workers was so great, that new individuals to the system were being hired as care and protection workers without any

prior experience or training. Many caseworkers and supervisors in the department expressed anger and concern by comments such as:

> The Department of Public Welfare is handling mandated care and protection and we're not trained.
>
> There's a need for training to do care and protection investigations.
>
> There's no specific training for protective care.
>
> Protective care caseworkers get less qualified. [than workers in the past]

The fact that newcomers to the Department of Public Welfare often begin with little or no training emphasizes the excessive need for a greater number of professionally trained caseworkers and indicates the potential for conflict between the professionally trained and the non-profession social worker. Drawing again from The Children's Puzzle, the situation can be summarized in the following way:

> Staff training consists of a zero base-crash course in basic survival techniques, the indoctrination of procedures and the completion of forms. Virtually no professional staff development exists. True professional development is discouraged and often denied a worker. No agency offers a comprehensive training program to their staffs and there are none that are planned. Training, inservice or otherwise, is given lip service, and only that. Most training is on-the-job, a technique that insures that mistakes will be made with children's lives in order that agency staff can learn how to intervene in children's lives (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 38).

Many welfare workers in the Office of Social Services perceive their agency training as being focused on correct completion of forms or "meta-work" as opposed to emphasizing methods which would contribute to the delivery of quality services. Most of the training is seen as on-the-job through discussions with supervisors and co-workers who themselves often lack sufficient training. Caseworkers, supervisors and directors interviewed feel an urgent need for training, but training is not provided. While specialized training is necessary for all welfare workers, those individuals interviewed were particularly concerned about training individuals who transfer from Assistance Payments to Social Services, because of the numerous transfers since separation. Increased concern was expressed about those individuals involved in the sensitive area of care and protection. Training is seen as pivotal to developing competent welfare caseworkers.

Physical facilities. The working conditions described thus far have not alluded to the physical environment. Yet, this is an area which affects the workers in many ways and causes them concern. Comments of those individuals interviewed about the physical conditions in which caseworkers are expected to provide human services make it obvious that the environment militates against that process.

Appearance. From the observations of the writer and the other interviewers, most offices were aesthetically unfit to conduct human services with human beings. They were often housed in cold, drab old buildings, cluttered with stacks of papers and files, and frequently dirty. In some cases paint was peeling off the walls and chairs were falling apart. Security in some situations was so tight, that it conveyed the impression that one was visiting a jail or fortress which housed hardened criminals. One office visited had a buzzer system which allowed only identified persons to go beyond the waiting room. In other situations lavatories were locked, and only one person had a key. Despite the fact that there may have been sound reasons for the behavior, the impression conveyed to outsiders was one of distrust and fear. Waiting rooms sometimes had one or two chairs or no chairs. Toilet facilities varied from average to indecent. It seemed that some of them were never cleaned, and given only sparse supplies. The buildings themselves were poorly marked as welfare offices, and in one situation, it was observed that there were no fire extinguishers or proper exits. Caseworkers complained of fleas in one building visited.

Privacy. One of the major concerns voiced by those caseworkers interviewed was the lack of privacy for interviewing clients. Throughout most of the community service

area centers across the Commonwealth, the areas available for client-caseworker private discussions were open-space areas. In some cases there were a few semi-private cubicles, but complete privacy was largely unavailable. The descriptions of caseworkers and feelings about the lack of privacy are as one caseworker put it:

> Since there is no adequate interviewing space, I interview clients in my car in the parking lot.
>
> Workers here interview clients at a table and chair in the hall directly between the two rest rooms. [This was the area in which this interviewee was interviewed in order to give the researcher a real feel for what it is like.]

It was difficult for the researcher to find private areas to interview caseworkers. Often supervisors or directors gave up their offices for this purpose. During the interviews there was a constant reiteration of a lack of privacy for workers, and an indication that "regional staff have privacy and don't really work directly with people." Lack of privacy and space were major causes for the directors in some area offices to request a new facility and to be put on a re-location list.

Space. The lack of privacy, which militates against any positive counseling relationships, is exacerbated by the lack of adequate space in the area offices. In one instance it was learned that a

> union filed a grievance concerning office space. [The grounds were that there were] too many people with too little ventilation.

In another office the writer observed a desk less than three feet each direction from three other desks, in a large 60' by 40' unpartitioned room. The room had insufficient privacy and the paint above the paneling was dingy. The building itself was previously a supermarket and had a total of six windows that provided little light.

Equipment. Other area office situations were impersonal, and not conducive to good mental health. A claustrophobic atmosphere is created in some offices because of the inadequate space and numerous stacks of papers and files. Workers made comments about the uneven heating situation in some offices and the lack of adequate telephones. In one situation there were "two lines out of the office for seventeen people." There were comments also about the length of time it took to get necessary supplies. One director stated:

> I can't even get a typewriter fixed. Every year requests from the area offices are sent to regional for action. I have never gotten anything I requested.

Another director stated "it took three years to get a door." Before separation, directors felt that they could get supplies faster. Now they "are always short of supplies."

According to the Union Local 509 contract, the department is supposed to supply a lounge for workers in each area office. Some area offices had not yet fulfilled this obligation. One area was attempting to comply by calling the lounge the area which consisted of a stove and refrigerator in the middle of the room near the xerox machine. It had no tables or chairs.

Although most caseworkers felt their physical working environment needed improvement, one individual spoke positively about his office conditions. He stated that he had no office space and saw it

> as an advantage since it's more open this way. I'm not isolated, and we can see each other's problems, pressures, and talk over cases more easily.

A few offices visited had a reasonable waiting room, adequate rest room facilities, and easy client accessibility. In general, however, most caseworkers interviewed felt their physical working environment was deficient, and contributed negatively to worker morale. This writer's observations consistently prove the validation of caseworkers' perceptions.

On-going employer-employee relationships. A fourth set of constraints in the work environment is in the area of on-going employer-employee relationships. Most caseworkers

interviewed perceived the relationship as uncaring, distant, and impersonal. The most salient example of this relationship is seen through the communication system.

Interagency communication. The communication system within the agency emphasizes a flow of directives from the top to the bottom, and a flow of information from the bottom to the top. The individuals interviewed perceived communication among the central, regional and area offices as an on-going battle to establish a meaningful relationship. Caseworkers in area offices felt that the regional staff should act as a buffer between the area and the central offices, but that the regional offices failed to do so. Contact is minimal between the area and the regional offices. In large measure, the regional directors are not substantively aware of what is happening in the field. A director of a regional office stated:

> I hire workers at entry level but I lose them in the field. I don't know what workers in the field do.

The level of cooperation between the regional and area offices is so markedly insensitive that regional directors simply overlook the area directors in some instances. One area director stated:

> Regional has the authority to move a slot from my office without telling me.

In another region a worker was transferred from one area office into another region without the director of the area office being notified or consulted. Regional offices are seen as the loci for determining where the greatest need may be in the region and they can respond to that need without consulting the area offices in the region.

Since communication within the department is essentially a written process, the regional office is the vehicle which connects the areas with the central office. Individuals interviewed felt it was "difficult to get answers from the central office." Requests to the areas for information come from various units within the central office. It is felt that "their requests are consistently inconsistent, in that they don't coordinate information requests from the central office." One worker stated:

> Certain sets of policy and procedures come from one place and head in one direction, while another set of policy and procedures come from a different place and head in an entirely different direction.

The feeling of many individuals interviewed is one of little support from Boston. It was not uncommon to hear workers say:

> Boston doesn't care about services. They are too impersonal.

Even the interest of commissioners and their assistants has been absent. Individuals could recall only having a visit from one, and no personal communications from any. Those

individuals interviewed in the northern section of the state, felt:

> The distance from Boston is too great. [They felt that] the farther away from central, the more you lose.

The department's ineffective process of communication serves to strengthen that feeling of alienation.

One unit in the central office which was perceived as quite difficult to communicate with was the Group Care Unit. Most caseworkers in the department must interface with this unit quite frequently in terms of placing children in group care. It is the perception of those interviewed that group care workers

> have a soft job. They don't work with the individual child that much. It is the caseworker who has most of the responsibility. We are called if the client runs.

In other cases however, when a child leaves a placement, the caseworker is not notified by the group care worker. The caseworker becomes angry about this too. The process for placing a client takes from six to eight weeks because "too many reports are needed before a case can go to the group care unit."

The caseworker, moreover, is responsible for placing the child in a foster home during the interim.

Effective communication within any agency is an extremely important component. Within the Office of Social

Services, a productive communication system is apparently lacking. In the discussion of various aspects of the working environment, workers alluded to serious time lags in communications, lack of information about those agencies with whom the central office has private contracts, and the lack of responsible involvement in the formation of agency policy. They also expressed negative feelings about the lack of appropriate communication between the department and contracted day care centers. "Memos have gone to day care centers without even central's unit for purchase of service always knowing about it." The various units within the central office act autonomously, creating a poor system of communication within the central office itself. With communication poor at its source, it is understandable that it must remain poor or grow progressively worse in its filtering process.

Formulation of policy. Through the interviews, caseworkers articulated their feelings about various aspects of their working environment and shared their perspective on what it is like for them to work for the Department of Public Welfare. Opportunities to express such concerns to those who have the power to make changes are very infrequent, however. This fact was established by the comments and feelings of caseworkers about their lack of participation in agency decision making activities.

Generally, most caseworkers, supervisors and directors interviewed felt they would like to have more input into the policy decisions which affect them, and which they are responsible to implement. The perception of those interviewed was that the central office has all of the control and the primary responsibility for setting policy. The regional offices have some input, and the community service area centers have very little. The central office is responsible for all the private contracting and controls all budgets (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 34). A typical perception individuals have of the central office is:

> My job is an office manager's job. We take the policies from on high. We try to stretch the resources, people as far as they will go.

Caseworkers state there is a far greater need for input into policy because

> people who write policy don't know the effects of that in the field. Workers feel policy is never developed out of consultation with the line workers but always at the top.
>
> no one asks social workers about child care.
>
> D. P. W. workers are not recognized.

One individual said of The Children's Puzzle that

> for the first time the opinions of others besides Commissioners are respected.

Directors and other personnel experience an inability to influence any decisions, particularly those relative to

renewing or discontinuing contracts. The perception is that they have

> no formal power to cancel a contract. They can only complain to the regional director.

Some individuals feel "angry at the lack of control over private contracts, especially when they often don't know with whom D. P. W. is contracting." This becomes quite significant when eighty million dollars are spent each year to purchase services for children in the Commonwealth (The Children's Puzzle, 1977, p. 37). One director stated:

> I don't know how much my input is considered. A day care center got a contract even though the supervisor did not think the center was very good.

Others stated that

> if we voted against the contract it would be settled anyway.

Three individuals interviewed, however, felt they personally were "included in contract negotiations. One director commented that all contracts are reviewed by my office and I can influence a non-renegotiation of a contract." These, however, were the opinions of only three persons interviewed out of the 150. The pervasive feeling of the other individuals was one of non-involvement. Not only the caseworkers interviewed would have appreciated participation in decisions relating to the effective operations of the agency, but also mid-level managers, who

felt disenfranchised. They felt that with all of their experience, the department gave them little authority and/or discretionary powers.

Frequent policy changes. A feeling of uncertainty is created and maintained when policy changes regarding tasks and functions are so frequent that individuals never feel they have mastered any procedural rule or regulation. Subsequently this has led some caseworkers to feel that their functions and responsibilities are not clearly defined. In the social service area, there are several roles within the Department of Public Welfare. Some caseworkers perform information and referral tasks; some find homes for foster children; others place the children in homes or group care situations; still others find jobs for eligible clients; and others work primarily with protective care cases. All of these tasks are generally assumed under the duties of a social worker at job group number twelve which is a civil service classification. Although there are specific functions for the various types of workers, an information and referral worker stated that changes in her function were always occurring. According to her, the latest change for information and referral workers was the mandate to do assessments on protective cases. This caseworker indicated that she would receive one day and

a half of training to prepare her to enter a home; see a child; assess whether it was a true abuse or neglect case; and make the appropriate referral. The worker's perception was that this was the way the community service area director would

> keep the lid on any trouble. This way if anyone dies he can say he had someone out there right away.

Time lag. Another information and referral worker said that in terms of regulations as soon as she understands it, "it changes. Clients wait while the new system goes into effect." Many workers indicated that a time lag is frequently operative when new procedures are communicated officially to direct service staff. One worker called attention to an incident involving day care. There was a situation regarding "contracted day care regulations being changed on July 11, and workers receiving the official communication with the instructions on August 10." Another child welfare intake worker stated:

> There is a time lag in receiving new regulations. Often the news is read in the paper before D. P. W. workers receive the official communication.

One supervisor of generalists supports these caseworker comments by stating:

> The constant changes within the organization for the last two years are wearing the workers down.

An assistant director of social services feels

> the organization needs six months to a year of neglect without major policy changes every three months.

An assessment worker stated that:

> Paper work has doubled since separation. I have seen three major changes in codes and policies in two years. I often give suggestions to central concerning my job and paper work, but I never see any results.

Some of the policy changes which concern direct service providers are also due to the frequent changes of top level administrators. During the life of this study, two such administrators were fired and replaced. This necessarily resulted in more policy changes for line caseworkers. Federal regulations often impose some procedural changes as well as the hiring of new community service center or regional directors. Thus, it is obvious that changes in policy are frequent occurrences.

Excessive paper work. As individuals spoke about policy changes, they usually included comments about the excessive number of forms to be completed. Modifications of procedural policy in many instances has adversely affected the amount of paper work to be completed by the line social service staff. The paper process for the worker begins the moment an applicant makes contact to request some type of social service. A statement is read to or by individuals.

This informs the persons that the information given to social workers on the application forms will be used to determine and document financial eligibility of the applicants. They are further told that the information will be contained in two places. One location is the agency where the individuals are applying and the other is in a central file and on a computer maintained and operated by the Department of Public Welfare. Confidentiality of the information is assured. The following example is illustrative of the paper-pushing process: In order to provide approximately $6.28 worth of payment for services to a one-time babysitter, at least nine forms must be completed. They include the following:

SOC 7 - Information or Referral Communication
SOC 1 - Request for Services
SOC 3 - Social Services Application and Income Verification
SOC 5.1 - Social Service Plan Worksheet
SOC Admin 9 - Vendor Number
POS 8 - Service Authorization
SOC Admin 2 - Single Service Invoice
Acceptance Letter
Memo to Regional of Termination

Of course such a process is magnified when other variables are present such as: the service is prolonged over months; the babysitter changes; or there are several children. A POS-8 form is necessary for each child requiring service, and must be re-done if the babysitter changes.

In addition, there are forms for abuse and neglect cases, for the babysitters themselves, for medical services, for the extension of babysitting services, for client intake, and provider number application to name but a few. Because of the numerous forms connected with service provision, caseworkers feel that there is simply

> too much paper work, too many forms.

One information and referral worker who frequently deals with babysitters feels

> paper work should be eliminated so as to expedite child care services. You don't need POS-8 if the computer would work out. Two hours can be spent just on the paper aspect.

A WIN worker who has to appraise people for employment feels

> there's much paperwork attached to this job, some of which could be done by a technician.

He has two hundred certifications to do each month. A special placement worker said:

> I spend more time on paper work than I care to.

Another generalist caseworker responded:

> I have so many procedures and so much paper work to do which occupies so much of my time that I generally respond to my cases when they become a crises.

Caseworkers, supervisors, and directors estimate that direct service workers spend at least "one third to one half of their time on paper work." Workers feel overwhelmed by

codes and forms. An example of how involved a process can be is indicated by an excerpt from a letter dated September 9, 1976 from an associate regional administrator regarding code 48 in Block 13 of the POS-8:

> To: All Social Service Staff-Foster Care "48" in Block 13 of the POS-8 has been and still is being misused. In your Procedures Manual you will find under POS-8 attachment pg. 3 (Rev. 10/75) the following instructions: Enter code "48" (foster care/MA only) in Block 13; enter in Block 19; A Vendor Number from Master file for person or group who is to receive MA card; enter ØØØ in Unit Rate Block (#26); ØØØ in Block 27, and a case open status in Block 28. (Preferably an OA).

A supervisor of generalists commented:

> The POS-8 system if it were operational might be all right, but as it is now, breaking down day care into types of need, hours per day, per week, per month, seems a bit much. Each time a new service is initiated, a complete new form has to be done.

On the whole, the POS-8 form is viewed by caseworkers as

> a pain in the neck.

An information and referral worker stated that:

> As it is now a great deal can go on in the client's life that is not responded to by our workers because of the paper and the fragmentation of our jobs.

This happens a great deal in re-determinations. While an IRF supervisor feels there are too many forms, she also felt "forms seem necessary." Evidently some workers

perceive that their accountability to the department is in terms of forms, not people. A child welfare specialist said she gets

> called down faster about paper work not done as opposed to a service not delivered.

In summary, it is the perception of those welfare caseworkers interviewed that the Department of Social Services engages in such frequent policy changes that it is difficult for caseworkers to become quite experienced in certain procedures. Modification in policy is affected by new leadership, federal or state regulation, and emergency services. This results in feelings of role ambiguity for caseworkers, and limited service delivery. Frequent policy changes also increase the amount of paper work to be processed. New policy quite often means new forms. Caseworkers feel that valuable time which is spent on paper could be spent on people if the system were simplified.

From an analysis of the interview materials, it has been shown that the work environment of social service caseworkers lacks the capacity to create feelings of job security among many of its workers. The supervision provided by agency supervisors is deficient, as well as the training and working conditions. The caseworkers perceive the agency policies as confusing, often contradictory, and showing little concern for workers in the field. Top

level administrative staff are seen as impersonal and uncaring about personnel. The agency's communication system and physical facilities are perceived by social service caseworkers as hampering them in the provision of services to clients. Although there were other job content issues mentioned in interviews, this writer did not feel they were relevant to this particular study.

It is clear, however, that Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory is relevant to this analysis. Herzberg's (1959) hygiene factors of supervision, security, company policy and administration, working conditions, salary, security and interpersonal relations are all seriously problematic areas for caseworkers in the Office of Social Services in this Commonwealth. Deficient hygiene factors are indicative of job dissatisfaction. With high levels of job dissatisfaction, individuals have difficulty meeting their needs for esteem, recognition, achievement and professional growth.

Conclusion. Chapter IV has focused on the working environment within the Department of Public Welfare within the Commonwealth as it is perceived by some caseworkers, supervisors and directors. The research has elucidated aspects of job insecurity, training, frequent policy changes and excessive paper work. It has presented elements which

impede positive work incentives and has discussed the department's decision making process, its physical environment, and its communication system.

If adequate hygiene factors for job satisfaction require positive company policies and administration, good supervision and working conditions, positive interpersonal relations, adequate salary, status and security, then it is obvious that the present working environment of welfare caseworkers significantly contributes to job dissatisfaction and poor worker performance. Under the conditions of unclear policies, unfair promotions, excessive paper work, inadequate supervision, shoddy physical conditions, ineffective communication, ambivalent job security, and dubious status, it is in general, impossible to entertain the thought of positive growth for workers in the areas of achievement, recognition for accomplishment, and increased responsibility within the agency. This holds true even if a few individuals are able to develop in this environment. The implications of such working conditions have consequential significance for both caseworkers themselves and the delivery of human services.

C H A P T E R V

IMPLICATIONS OF ANALYSIS

Introduction

During the field work stage of The Children's Puzzle, I became more consciously aware of a phenomenon that was part of my experience as an educator and a principal long before becoming involved in the investigation of children's services. It was made quite clear to me from a number of parents, who were either currently welfare recipients or had been at one time, that they perceived themselves to be dehumanized and stigmatized by the welfare system. They felt stifled, preyed upon, and vitiated.

To begin with, coming to a welfare office to receive help usually was a negative experience for them because of the indifferent and degrading manner in which the clients were treated. Sometimes they had to wait hours for services, in situations where even the office conditions were a constant reminder of how little they were valued as persons. The agency procedures and forms required to receive the assistance to which they were entitled, left them with few private areas in their life. Often they were forced to conform to every policy change by the system, even when it was not feasible for their particular case. Because services

received were below subsistence, many welfare clients were forced to subsidize whatever they received in whatever way they could. In their attempt to live a little better, make decisions for themselves, and become independent, they were considered to be cheats and frauds by the welfare system. Ironically, the investigative procedures used by the system kept welfare clients dependent and insecure, while simultaneously exhorting them to become independent and secure. The whole procedure left some parents feeling as if they were pawns of the system and manipulated because they were poor.

The phenomenon which emerged when I was involved in The Children's Puzzle, was that there were certain parallels in the way the welfare system treats its caseworkers and its clients. My extensive experience as a teacher, counselor and principal provided me with understanding of how welfare clients felt the system treated them. This understanding forced me to question those circumstances in the caseworkers' work environment which made such parallel treatment possible. The work environment as described in Chapter IV created negative feelings in the caseworkers which were not distinguishably different from the feelings verbalized by welfare clients with whom I came into contact.

An overall pervasive perception of the agency by the caseworkers interviewed is that it is a "dumping ground" for clients. This is exemplified by such comments:

> Judges are too quick to dump kids on D. P. W. [Department of Public Welfare]
>
> D. Y. S. [Department of Youth Services] are always pushing their clients on D. P. W.
>
> P. O. 's [Probation Officers] are being more considerate, but ultimately they know D. P. W. gets the child.
>
> D. M. H. [Department of Mental Health] dumps kids from the Boston Children's Hospital on to the welfare system.
>
> Central D. P. W. sometimes kicks [clients] back to D. P. W. worker.
>
> Private agencies won't take sticky cases.
>
> D. P. W. ends up doing all the work.

As individuals, some caseworkers feel bullied by the judges, and defenseless in court situations. They feel the general public, legislators and the governor stigmatize them because they work for welfare. Comments which exemplify such feelings and perceptions are:

> D. P. W. workers have no right of appeal but client and everyone else does.
>
> It's bad to work for D. P. W.
>
> D. P. W. is a dirty word.
>
> [For clients,] their punishment is to put them in D. P. W.
>
> D. P. W. is the bottom of the barrel.

Caseworkers interviewed perceive themselves as being "viewed very poorly by both the community and D. P. W." This is so, because many workers perceive the top level

administrators at the central office as uncaring and unsupportive. They state that:

> The impression of state workers in Massachusetts is that they work for the state because they couldn't get jobs elsewhere.

They feel

> you are just a number on a test.
>
> clients don't like us--agencies don't--governor and legislature certainly don't.

They criticize the Office for Children for taking to task the "weakest agency, D. P. W." In addition, they feel that their competency is suspect:

> P. O. 's have little respect for CSA [Community Service Center] social workers.
>
> O. S. S. [Office of Social Services] should be away from D. P. W.--it hurts the professional credibility of the worker.
>
> Some parents don't see D. P. W. workers as professionals.
>
> [Emergency foster care]--this agency undermines D. P. W. and feels it is clinically stupid.

A supervisor stated that he

> would trust the judgment more of M.S.W. workers. [Those caseworkers with a Masters in Social Work.]

Social service caseworkers' feelings are compounded because many feel that they work with "clients no one else will touch." These welfare clients feel dehumanized, vitiated, de-valued as persons, disrespected, perceived as incompetent, and forced to visit offices which reinforce the

stigma attached to being welfare recipients. Their experiences mirror those of welfare social service caseworkers who react in a similar way, since they are forced to work continually under conditions which reinforce such negative feelings. The treatment of both groups by the welfare system, has resulted in similar self-perceptions verbalized in similar negative language.

To understand this phenomena, several dynamics might be considered. In reflecting on the origins of the welfare system as discussed in Chapter II, it appears that public welfare was not intended initially to become a bureaucracy. The system grew out of the state's need to respond to crises-oriented situations. Instead of temporary cases however, chronic cases seemed to mushroom, creating an ongoing need for services. This apparently has generated a current feeling of futility and anger because of an inability to decrease the welfare population and the drain on the system's resources. Since it is morally inconceivable for the state to relinquish completely its obligations to the poor people of the Commonwealth, it unconsciously transfers its anger to welfare caseworkers in their work environment. This displaced aggression upon the caseworkers has negatively affected their self-concepts. It appears that the social service workers have internalized the negative

treatment and verbal abuse they have received through the system and public at large, and thus are beginning to perceive themselves much as some welfare clients perceive themselves. Dynamics such as these have detrimental effects on the social service workers as well as on the quality of services they are able to provide. Such dynamics are worthy of further investigation and exploration.

Because of the way caseworkers are treated by the system in their working environment, they feel insecure in their jobs, unclear about the possibilities of upward mobility, immersed in paper work, at the mercy of an ineffective communication system and numerous policy changes. This situation encourages feelings of being dehumanized, "just a number on a test," stigmatized and manipulated.

Welfare clients experience similar feelings because they are the "dregs of humanity" who keep coming and "can't be turned off," who are "dumped" onto welfare because no one else will help them. It is the thesis of this study that those persons who are "dumped," and those individuals who work with those persons who are "dumped," are treated similarly by the same welfare system. Linton (1956) has already been noted as stating that a person's status is affected by the prestige of the person for whom a service is rendered. It appears that such a situation may

have occurred between some social service caseworkers and those "clients no one else will touch."

Implications

It needs repeating that the dynamics occurring among some social service workers have a detrimental effect on the delivery of human services. It is quite difficult for caseworkers experiencing disparaging treatment themselves from those who should be supportive to them, to be supportive and understanding to their clients. It is difficult for caseworkers experiencing job insecurity themselves, to communicate feelings of security to their clients. It is difficult, if not impossible, for caseworkers who feel dehumanized in their environment to help create a humanizing environment for their clients. It is difficult, if not impossible, for caseworkers to care about their clients, when their superiors do not care about them. It is difficult, if not impossible, to counsel clients when most of the caseworker's contact is focused upon filling out forms. It is difficult, if not impossible, to make productive decisions with one's clients when the system does not allow you to participate in making productive policy decisions which effect your service delivery. Finally, it is difficult to help clients, when the system impedes rather than supports that helping process.

At this point, it is unclear whether the identification process taking place between the caseworker and the client is conscious or unconscious in the mind of the caseworker. What is clear, is that the process exists, and the work situation has become too frustrating for some caseworkers. This has resulted in significant staff turnover. Staff turnover is perceived by many caseworkers to be the result of the working situation within the department. It is attributed by some to the "work load," workers getting "worn out," "frustration," "discouragement," and "lack of support from supervisors" who give "'do what you want' answers to problems." One individual felt that some workers "just can't cut it."

Four individuals from different regions felt the turnover was "not as bad as people thought." They perceived that it was relatively low, and that most of it was due to pregnancies, promotions or transfers. Three of the individuals were directors of community service areas. The perception of most workers however, was that staff turnover was high. This fact is supported by Greenblatt and Richmond who state that "over fifty percent of the members of a group are different from year to year . . . ninety-one percent of the Boston region's social service staff left their jobs during fiscal year 1976" (Greenblatt & Richmond, 1979, pp. 42-43). Understandably, such turnover plays havoc with

the clients who are affected by those caseworkers who leave their positions. During the interview process, one individual stated, "I'd leave tomorrow if I had another position." Another felt that he "might not be around in this state much longer." A director stated that he had lost forty-three people in three years.

Conclusions

Through the literature search as related in Chapter II, it was found that the "social worker" within the Department of Public Welfare is operating in a non-enviable position. The workers themselves are for the most part educationally unprepared for their roles (Bar-Oren, 1976; Jones, 1966; Maas, 1971; and Meyer, 1966). The occupation with which they are associated is still struggling to become a universally recognized and accepted profession (Braude, 1975; Etzioni, 1969; McCormick, 1966; and Reynolds, 1965); and the need for status, esteem and prestige which many individuals seek through their occupations cannot be sufficiently realized through working for public welfare as it currently operates.

Kadushin (1958) has pointed out that the level of prestige of work affects the self-concept of workers as well as their feeling about the job. It also affects the level of trust the client has in the worker's ability.

Feelings of self-esteem gained from prestigious occupations lead to feelings of self-confidence and a sense of competence. Individuals who have self-confidence and feel competent need occupations in which their growth potential may be realized. When such growth can be actualized, satisfaction with the job is more likely to occur. It has been proven that the necessary ingredients for prestige, self-esteem, and self-confidence are lacking within the work environment of welfare social service caseworkers.

Additional elements present when individuals were said to be satisfied with their jobs include status, self-esteem, self-respect, aspects of the job, selection and training of personnel, security, salaries and working conditions (Herzberg, 1955; 1959; Hoppock, 1935; and Lurie, 1965). Job satisfaction was also found to be significantly related to supervision (Aiken, Smits & Loller, 1972; Herzberg, 1959; Kadushin, 1976; Kermish & Kushin, 1969; Miller, 1970; and Olmsted & Christensen, 1973). Furthermore, a positive relationship between job satisfaction and one's level in the occupational hierarchy was found (Argyris, 1964; Inkeles, 1960; and Porter & Lawler, 1965). The lower the level, the less satisfied the worker. In a comprehensive study by a government task force, all of the elements stated above were found to be directly related to individual levels of job satisfaction. In

addition to the elements identified, the elements of challenge, employer concern, and involvement of employees in decision making were found to be quite important, as well as the mobility of each worker. A study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare concerning mobility among workers stressed that where a great deal of absenteeism and turnover occur, individuals were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs (HEW, 1971). Turnover and absenteeism negatively affect an agency because of inconsistent worker productivity. All of the issues discussed in Chapter II are integrally related to the factors which affect job satisfaction.

In Chapter IV, the data analysis found that caseworkers in the Office of Social Services are not enamored with their working environment. Educationally, they primarily hold baccalaureate degrees in areas other than social work, and for some workers this makes them either unprepared or over-prepared for the functions they perform. While they do not directly say there is a need for a Master's Degree in Social Work, they do indicate a need for more training which is appropriate for the jobs they have to execute. The caseworkers perceive their jobs as insecure, lacking in necessary supervision with a consistently deteriorating communication system. They feel under-valued as persons

because they are not permitted to be involved in making decisions which they must implement. They also feel overburdened with paper work.

The problematic areas in the working environment in the Office of Social Services have had detrimental effects on some caseworkers' perception of their agency, and on their individual self-perceptions, self-esteem, and feelings of competency. These perceptions are evident from comments made by social service caseworkers during the interviews as well as by some supervisors and community service area directors.

Recommendations

Because of the ever-increasing concern about the plight of public welfare throughout the nation, this writer presents the following recommendations for consideration by not only the Commonwealth of Massachusetts but other public welfare systems in the nation which are attempting to develop effective social service systems.

In the area of communication:

> Positive language about the agency, its personnel, and clients should become the mode of communication for all individuals involved in the agency.
>
> Social service workers should be praised privately and publicly for commitment to tasks, hard work, or accomplished goals. Such praise could be in the form of awards for two,

three, five or more years of service. A monthly newsletter could feature the "Social Worker of the Month" in each area office as well as other agency accomplishments. In addition, one day a year could be set aside as appreciation day for caseworkers.

Top level administrators should maintain as much personal contact as possible with direct service staff, through official but sensitive letters, visits or group conferences. In addition they should listen consistently to the ideas and/or suggestions of their direct service staff.

Definite and clear policy should be developed informing workers of the job mobility potential, and the definite steps and length of time necessary to achieve them.

Caseworkers should be directly involved in making specific decisions at the area level, while broad policy and general decisions are made at the top. Caseworkers should be involved in establishing area goals as well as being quite knowledgeable about the goals of the total agency.

In the area of job setting:

Social service caseworkers should be provided with working environments which enhance their sense of worth as persons as well as the worth of their clients.

In the area of personnel practices:

Job functions and responsibilities should be commensurate with individual competency. Special attention in this area should be given to supervisors.

The civil service process and personnel practices relative to hiring and termination should be re-structured or abolished in order that individual competency be equal to job function.

Reasonable case loads should be established which provide time for caseworkers to visit and counsel clients.

In-service workshops once a month should be provided which are based on needs identified by the involved workers, but they should not become the major process by which workers gain competency.

Some changes necessary for the provision of quality human services will be evident only after further research and exploration. Therefore, it is recommended:

In the area of additional research:

Studies should be undertaken to determine the extent to which displaced aggression is operating between the system of public welfare and its social service caseworkers.

Additional inquiries should be made to explore the complex dynamic of the identification process occurring between social service caseworkers and clients.

Investigations should be developed that probe the effect of an ambivalent profession on the esteem, respect, and status needs of social service welfare workers.

Research should be undertaken to examine the cause-effect relationship between positive ego-development and working for public welfare.

Studies should be conducted which measure the job satisfaction of human service workers.

As an adjunct to these recommendations, serious attention should be given to the reality of clients' human rights. A society that is unable to offer full employment to its members should, in justice, provide those services necessary for the unemployed to enjoy a life of dignity. It is

imperative that the administrators of the Department of Social Services assess whether the welfare system is entrenched in a cycle which dehumanizes not only the clients, but the caseworkers as well. Is the system making the helping process for clients a wholesome experience or is it exacerbating it? It is essential, in light of the evidence presented, for legislators and administrators to ascertain whether their commitment is to provide for the welfare of the public, or simply to provide public welfare.

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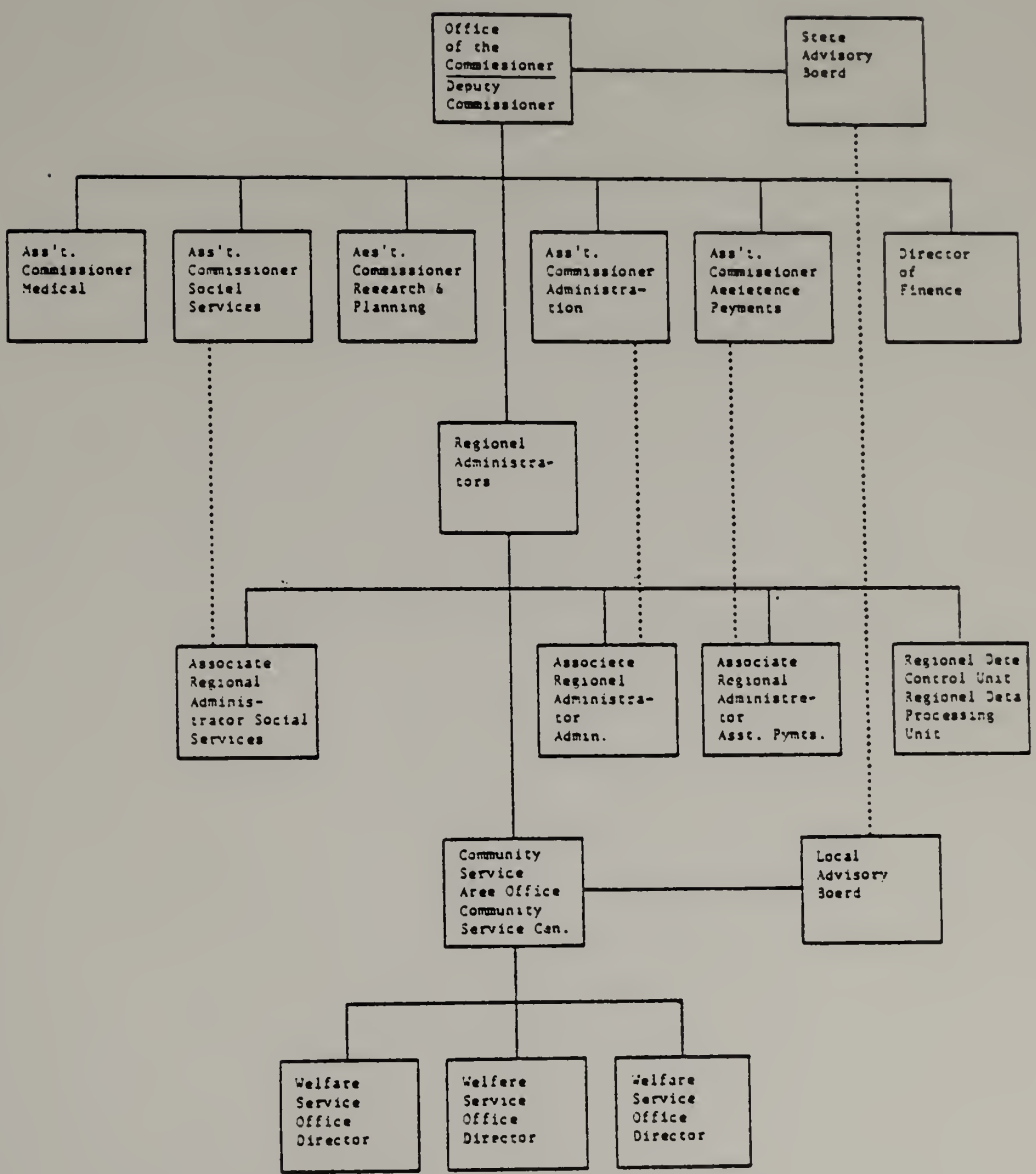
APPENDICES

Chart I

Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare



APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

I Introduction

a) Name of the interviewer
b) Purpose of the study
c) Assurance of anonymity of respondent
d) Interest in opinions and experiences of interviewee
e) Indication to share results of study with interviewee

II Face Sheet Information

a) Name of interviewee
b) Date of interview
c) Place of interview
d) Level of education
e) Present function in agency

III Description of Job Function

a) Would you tell me about your role in your agency?
b) How long has this been your function?

c) What does your job description identify as your function?

d) How are decisions made as to whether a child or family will receive services?

e) Would you describe your intake and referral process?

f) Describe how cases are assigned to workers.

IV Organizational Structure

a) How would you describe the organizational structure in this office? i.e., line relationships etc.

b) Do you have a purchasing process with private providers? If so, how does this process work?

c) What is the process for the selection of workers? The termination of workers?

d) Describe the training procedures for workers. Initial training, on-going training.

e) Would you generally describe for me staff stability in your agency? i.e., length of time in service etc.

f) In what ways would you say your education

and experience are commensurate with your job function?

V Inter and Intra Agency Relationships

a) Describe your relationship to your supervisor.

b) Tell me about your relationship to your regional office.

c) How would you describe the relationship of your regional office to the central office?

d) In what ways do you relate to the central office?

e) How would you describe the communication flow in your agency?

f) What is your relationship to other state agencies? Private providers?

g) What is your relationship to the courts?

VI Programs and Services

a) What type of services do you provide for children?

b) How are foster care determinations made?

c) What is your monitoring procedure for clients receiving services?

d) Describe the foster care situation. i.e., length of time in care, recruitment of foster care parents etc.

e) How are services to clients documented?

VII Finance

a) In what ways are you familiar with the budget allocations for your area office?

b) What is the process for requesting emergency and/or flexible funds for service provision?

c) What are your perceptions about the rate setting commission?

d) In what ways does the financial situation in your agency affect you in your job function?

e) How involved are you in a needs assessment procedure for budget allocations for your area office?

Confidentiality of the Data

All data gathered and disseminated as part of this study will be treated with full respect for confidentiality. The names of interviewees will at no time be identified, and only the investigator will have access to interview materials.

APPENDIX C

Recent Changes in the Office of Social Services

Since the investigation of children's services in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1976, and the subsequent document called The Children's Puzzle in 1977, several important changes have occurred within the Office of Social Services. The most significant change has been the legislative separation of social services from the Department of Public Welfare. Through Chapter 552, approved July, 1978, the new Department of Social Services became an independent agency with its own commissioner, powers, and duties.

This new department, as defined in the legislation, would be concerned with all of the traditional services provided by the Office of Social Services, but would introduce some key differences. These differences would include a move toward preventive measures in social services and would not only establish, but enforce high standards of social service. The commissioner and the deputy commissioner would need doctoral degrees and experience in administration, instead of master's degrees and administrative experience. The salaries, through legislation, would be more competitive with private agencies and a plan for the

orientation and training of area based and other staff would be developed and implemented.

Due to political reasons, the new Department of Social Services which was scheduled to begin operations July 1, 1979 will not begin full operations until July 1, 1980. A commissioner has been appointed and has recently begun to establish area boards as well as appoint top level staff. While hiring preference is being given to caseworkers already involved in the Office of Social Services, Chapter 552 allows the new department the freedom to avoid guaranteeing any position to civil service caseworkers from the old department. This approach allows the new agency to hire better qualified staff at higher salaries with lower caseloads.

Through the Title XX Training Plan, for fiscal years 1978-79-80, emphasis has been placed on the training needs of direct social service caseworkers and supervisors, as well as the needs of other entitled human service staff. A new social services training unit was developed in 1978 which assumed responsibility for the administration of both the D. P. W. social service training and staff development program, and the Title XX interagency training program.

By November of 1978, a mandatory training program was instituted for all workers. A uniform monthly hiring date for all staff helped ensure that preliminary training

preceded job placement. Workers received one full week of preliminary training before being assigned cases, and then returned one day a month for six months of follow-up training. The content areas included the following:

(1) Introduction to D. P. W. client population;
(2) The role of the D. P. W. social worker;
(3) Values and attitudes in human services;
(4) Working with problems of abuse and neglect;
(5) Family assessment and case decision making;
(6) Communication with parents about parent/child problems;
(7) Utilization of community resources;
(8) The first interview;
(9) Socio-legal issues in family and child welfare;
(10) The role and responsibility of the D. P. W. social worker in juvenile court.

Two major conclusions drawn from the evaluation data of the 1978 training program were:

(1) The overwhelming desire of social service staff for increased training, and their view of such training as an essential rather than an extra ingredient for effective job performance.

(2) The increased confidence and sense of professionalism which even this abbreviated period of training provided to participants.

Training priorities for fiscal year 1980 include:

(1) Management training for the new Department of Social Services;

(2) Training in permanent planning for child welfare workers;

(3) Training for adolescent workers in casework, short term services and emergency services;

(4) Understanding culture as it impacts on social service delivery;

(5) Homemaker training.

During fiscal year 1980, supervisors will receive training in specific aspects of supervision, including management functions, assessment of workers, and the development of individual training plans as well as clinical skills. In addition, for all staff, educational leave may be granted for either full or part-time study for graduate or undergraduate degrees. Tuition reimbursement will be given to selected Department of Social Service workers who attend school to increase their social work or management skills. Also, by the fall of 1981, a design for an on-site

M.S.W. degree program should be ready for implementation. Social service staff within the bargaining unit who are eligible for this program under Title XX regulations will be given the opportunity to work towards a degree without leaving their work site. Such an approach ought to foster the caseworker's sense of competency and self-confidence, and subsequently strengthen the image of the caseworker as a professional.

The Children's Puzzle

A Study of Services to Children in Massachusetts

A Report Memorandum

David M. Sheehan, Director
Children's Services Task Force

February, 1977

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Rep. John J. Finnegan, Chairman
House Ways & Means Committee

SUBJECT: The Children's Puzzle

Seven months ago, you commissioned a task force to conduct a statewide investigation of publicly supported services to children. Your initial belief that there exists a tremendous level of duplication and overlap was found to be absolutely correct. The cost of that duplication to the Commonwealth means that fewer children receive services to which they are entitled by law, that fewer children receive quality services that correspond to their individual needs, and that many children receive no services at all. The human and financial waste is incalculable.

Some of the statements made in this memorandum are harsh. They represent hard truths which must be confronted. We did not write with the intent of diminishing in any way the level of commitment to children which we have witnessed among many workers throughout the state agencies. Most service providers to children know that commitment diminishes quickly in the system as it now operates.

The contents of this memorandum should not be interpreted as a denial that Massachusetts provides many services to the children of the state, and that many of the services are of very high quality. The main thrust of this memorandum will show that so much more could be done if we minimize the waste and maximize common sense.

The dominant themes that recurred throughout our investigation of each of the state agencies can be summarized as follows:

1) There is a transition underway throughout human services in the state that is dramatically changing the role of the public sector and the role of the private sector: the public sector is moving toward the financing and the managing of services, while the private sector is becoming the sole provider of services. Such a transition implies that the public sector has effective fiscal and quality control. The fact is that this control does not exist.

2) The extraordinary level of duplication of services to children is a product of the many state agencies which have broad statutory mandates to serve children. The duplicate systems in state

agencies have resulted in a lack of central direction which can focus on such fundamental questions as: a) What are the desired social goals of providing services to children and families; b) What should be the limits of governmental intervention with families and children; c) What are the minimal levels of quality the state should expect for services which are publicly financed; and d) What are the levels of accountability which the state should exact from both the public and private sector for the programs it finances. These questions will remain unanswered until the state completely revamps its service agencies.

3) Currently it is assumed throughout the state that the private sector can deliver more effective services than state employees, and at a lower cost. This assumption is untested and therefore unproven.

4) There is a demonstrated ambivalence in state policy toward children. Landmark legislation enacted by the Massachusetts General Court is either underfunded or not implemented. Legislation is not implemented because of the diffusion of responsibilities between agencies or because the agencies charged with implementation are incapable of, or resistant to, following the expressed intent of the Legislature.

5) The standards which our citizens and the state agencies are now demanding from local school systems for meeting the individualized needs of handicapped children are standards which the state agencies serving children refuse to demand of themselves. This contradiction places an excessive burden upon school systems, both programmatically and financially.

* * * * *

The quality of the findings of this task force must be measured in terms of the quality of the questions which were asked, and by the number and diversity of the public servants who were interviewed. We began this study with the belief that all persons involved in the delivery of services have valuable information on how the system works and how the system can be improved. Throughout the course of this evaluation, the following procedure was employed:

(a) 1767 state employees and 194 individuals representing the private sector were interviewed:

(b) 79 pre-selected private programs were reviewed;

(c) A pre-selected sample of 54 school systems were visited and 163 individuals representing those school systems were interviewed;

(d) Central, regional and area offices of the human service agencies serving children (DMH-DPH-DPW-DYS-OFC-MRC) were visited and their staff interviewed; likewise, the central and regional offices of the Department of Education;

(e) Programs established for children in the state schools, state hospitals and the educational collaboratives were visited;

(f) The de-personalized computer files of DPW, OFC, DYS, DPH and DOE were analyzed; the computer files of the Executive Office for Administration & Finance representing the financial transactions of state agencies serving children were analyzed;

(g) All of the contracts of state agencies serving children were reviewed at the Comptroller's Office.

(h) Thousands of pages of agency documents were reviewed; similarly, all public documents concerning children which were issued in the past 8 years were examined;

(i) Many children across the state were interviewed.

Perhaps a unique perspective of this study is the belief that any measure of the effectiveness of the children's service system in the state must begin with the schools. Few would contest the interactive nature of schools and human service systems, particularly in light of Chapter 766, the state's special education law. Chapter 766 is one of the most far reaching and excellent pieces of legislation passed in recent state history. This law makes essential the cooperation of human service agencies with local schools. A contrary result will yield more duplication and fragmentation of services to children.

In the last three years local school systems across the state have not served all special needs students. Uneven efforts are documented by Department of Education statistics. Often, schools have failed to put forth a reasonable effort to serve some children. Across the state many agency professionals are condemning the schools, and the schools in turn criticize the services offered by the state agencies.

The schools across the state feel betrayed by the state agencies. The schools have been given significant responsibilities without resources. They have been held to a standard of accountability which no state agency imposes upon itself. They have been burdened by state agencies refusing to serve certain children because "they are covered by Chapter 766". The Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission is one striking example of a state agency neglecting children for this reason.

At the same time that the local schools have struggled with human service agencies, the State Department of Education has emphasized its regulatory function over the schools, often with unclear and contradictory policies. The paperwork is staggering. Inter-agency agreements between the Department of Education and other human service agencies have resulted in the transfer of responsibility from state agencies to the schools for the clinical school nursery program (DMH), fiscal responsibility for the pre-school programs for handicapped youngsters (DPH), and for residential care for DPW and DYS committed children on a 50-50 cost sharing basis. The schools have had to pay for the education of state wards since there has been no appropriation by the Legislature to DPW for that purpose in the last two years.

While the shifting of such responsibility to school systems, hence local communities, has created more accountability for the quality of services to children, it has at the same time made it more difficult for poor communities to provide high quality services or any services at all. There is a widening disparity between the advantages of wealthy communities and poor communities. Wealthier communities can afford more costly regular education programs and identify more needs for special education services. Poorer communities provide lower quality regular education programs which generate a need for special education services that it cannot afford.

Another important factor that widens the disparity between wealthy and poor communities is the fact that wealthier communities have more sophisticated resources (programs and personnel) to take advantage of the services provided by state agencies. State employees more readily respond to school systems that have the expertise to demand responses and underserve those who do not.

Two of the most important variables which affect a school system's ability to provide a full range of services required by Chapter 766 are its local property tax base and its reimbursement under Chapter 70 in the form of state aid, the same as for all educational programs.

The quality of education in a community is primarily linked to its wealth. The wide disparity between wealthy and

poor communities has not been closed by the "equalizing" formula of Chapter 70; in fact, the formula is de-equalizing and the reimbursement formula of Chapter 766 further compounds the problem. The following chart demonstrates the disparity. All 351 towns and cities were grouped into one of five classes based upon the wealth of the community divided by the number of school age children residing in the community. The equalized school tax rates were computed for each community along with the equalized school tax rate that applies to the residential properties of a community (as distinct from commercial and industrial properties located in a community). Each of the 351 communities is ranked in the appendix to the memorandum.

Class	1974 Community Wealth Per Child * * * Average Value	1974 Equalized School Tax Rate * * * Average Value(1)	1974 Per Pupil Expenditures ÷ Regular School Enrollments * * * Average Value	1974-75 Per Pupil Expenditures For Special Education ÷ Regular School Enrollments * * * * Average Value	% of Total School Age Population * * * *
I	$150,055	$ 9.87 ($ 6.51)	$1383	$122	9%
II	$ 52,411	$18.25 ($13.87)	$1157	$123	20%
III	$ 41,585	$18.99 ($14.81)	$1056	$105	25%
IV	$ 34,254	$20.12 ($15.29)	$1017	$ 79	23%
V	$ 26,957	$21.49 ($15.26)	$ 962	$ 75	23%

(1) *The equalized school tax rate applied to residential property appears in parenthesis. The balance is applied to industrial, commercial and personal property.*

The chart simply demonstrates that the 70 poorest communities in the state have 18% of the wealth per child that the 70 wealthiest communities in the state have; that the 70 poorest communities in the state tax their property more than twice the amount that the 70 wealthiest communities do for their schools; and for those higher taxes, the 70 poorest communities can only expend 70% per pupil for regular education as the wealthiest 70 communities do and only 61% as much for special education. In order for the poorest 70 communities to close the gap and expend as much as the wealthiest 70 communities for education, they would have to increase their equalized school tax rate to approximately $31 (up from $21.49). Expressed differently, this means that in order for the poorest 70 communities to expend as much as the

wealthiest 70 communities, they would have to increase their tax rate by an amount which equals the total tax rate of the top 70 communities.

This situation has not improved since 1974. Declining enrollments in the public schools coupled with increased tax revenues from the industrial and commercial sector has further widened the disparity. In 1976, the same top 70 communities increased their wealth per child by $61,217 while the bottom 70 communities increased their wealth per child by only $5883. The equalized school tax rates in the same two year period remained relatively constant.

Many myths surround the property tax as the basis for financing public school education. One myth which should be discarded is the belief that wealthier communities rely more upon their residential properties for tax revenues than do the poorer communities. When all property classes are equalized at fair market value (industrial-commercial-residential-personal), it is found that only 66% of the tax revenues for school expenditures come from taxing residential properties in the top 70 communities. The balance comes from taxing commercial, industrial and personal properties. For the poorest 70 communities, 71% of the tax revenues for supporting the public schools come from taxing the residential property in those communities. The average residential property tax (equalized per thousand dollars of valuation) in the top 70 communities was $6.51 in 1974 and $6.29 in 1976 while the average tax in the bottom 70 communities was $15.26 in 1974 and $13.98 in 1976. This means that the wealthier communities tax their more valuable residential properties at an absolute rate lower than what poorer communities tax their less valuable residential properties, creating an interesting paradox. Serious constitutional questions are brought into focus, particularly when the issue of state aid to education, which is supposed to "equalize", is explored in more depth.

It is no secret in the Commonwealth that wealthier communities increase their state aid by identifying and serving more children in special education programs. They increase their state aid by shifting expenditures to the more lucrative Chapter 766 formula for reimbursement. Wealthier communities expend more per pupil on special education programs and are reimbursed by the state at a rate they would not qualify for under Chapter 70 for regular education expenditures. Since Chapter 766 reimbursements are taken off the top of Chapter 70, there are fewer available monies to "equalize" education with each increase in the cost of Chapter 766. In the past two years, Chapter 70 has shrunken drastically. Chapter 766 reimbursements total $143 million for 1977, a reduction of Chapter 70 by 32%.

The Department of Education reports that 119,000 children were served in Chapter 766 programs in 1974-75 (9.6% of the total school population). In 1975-76, 143,000 children were reported to be served by Chapter 766 programs (12% of the total school population). The figures are questionable. The quality of the programs and the racial composition of the population of children who received the services are entirely different issues.

An important fact is that minority children who have traditionally been poorly served or unserved by school systems are not necessarily receiving better treatment under Chapter 766. The more costly residential and day school placements do not include very many Black and Hispanic children. Applying the racial statistics available, only 6% of the children receiving special education services are minorities. Given the vulnerability of minority children to the need for special education services, the state's two year experience is not impressive. Many of these children will only receive services by the state's human service agencies and the services are not likely to be coordinated with the local schools.

School systems across the state expressed the legitimate concern that state agencies were not willing to share assessments and diagnostic evaluations of children with the school even though the state agency wanted the school to provide or pay for the services to the child. This reluctance on the part of the state agencies requires the school to duplicate costly evaluations. One of the reasons that state agencies do not share information is that the schools are subject to the open records law which means that parents would have access to psychiatric and psychological evaluations performed by state employed, or consulting, professionals.

Many school systems are providing services under Chapter 766 which human service agencies are also mandated to provide. However, most school systems do not know what services the state agencies have to offer, much less the services which the state agencies are supposed to offer. The schools do know that many state agencies are exerting increasing pressures on them to pay for services when the child is in the care of the state agency. The result is more financial strain upon the schools, particularly the schools in the poorer communities of the state.

School systems have an extremely poor image of the state's human service agencies. They believe that state services are fragmented, uncoordinated and not based upon detailed assessment of the child's actual needs. They believe that state agencies are not held accountable for the services which they provide. Finally, they believed that they were being required to provide more and more costly services for children under Chapter 766 when the state agencies should be taking the primary responsibility for the child who needs those services. The findings of this study verify some of their beliefs.

The State Agencies

The reasons for the overlap, waste and inefficiency in the state agencies mandated to serve children are quite obvious: 1) there are too many of them; 2) too many resources which could be used to serve children are diverted to supporting the various bureaucracies instead; 3) each state agency has broad statutory mandates from the Legislature which promotes the duplication of services; 4) state personnel are not held accountable for what they do; 5) state agencies do not hold the private sector accountable for services they are paid to provide; 6) there is a demonstrated lack of capable leadership; 7) standards for professional practice are missing; and 8) the standard of common sense is ignored.

Each state agency serving children has a different intake form to be filled out, assesses the child's needs in a different manner, collects data from their clients haphazardly, provides services whether or not the services match the client's needs, and monitors and evaluates the quality of the services using different frameworks, few of which make much sense.

Children are routinely routed through this network of duplicative systems, often being referred several times before they can find an agency willing to give them any services at all. At the same time, each agency has outreach staff whose principal task is to locate unserved children in need of the services which that agency provides.

Medical and psychological evaluations are time consuming and costly. It makes little sense to perform the same diagnostic tests on a child more than once unless absolutely necessary to determine the child's real needs. Yet examples are common of children receiving multiple evaluations by schools under 766, DMH clinics, and DPW or DYS private providers. MRC and OFC will frequently enter the case also. The reason it happens, and will continue to happen, is that each agency seeks to limit its own program and financial responsibility for a child. They also don't trust each other's evaluations.

Coordination is the catchword throughout the agencies. More and more people are being employed to coordinate a service system which defies coordination under its present structure. As more coordination is attempted, more resources which could be put to better use in improving the quality and quantity of services are lost. Many of the coordinators in the different agencies spend their time conferring with their own agency counterparts, vying for more resources for their interest group, or they spend their time trying to coerce and cajole other agency coordinators into accepting responsibility for a child who needs services. Often the coordinators don't have the authority to make a decision. The following state agencies serve children.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Division of Special Education within the State Department of Education is responsible to establish statewide policy on Chapter 766, regulate all school systems in the implementation of Chapter 766, and to provide quality school programs for children in state institutions. The relationship of the Division of Special Education to the rest of the Department is not unlike the relationship of all human service agencies to each other. There is a flurry of activity throughout the Department but there are questionable gains.

There is a high level of staff turnover and staff turnaround in the Division of Special Education. In the past two years, most of the various bureaus have had several directors. Many of the key staff people at the central office are not even state employees at all. They are paid out of federal grants housed in private agencies or educational collaboratives even though at times they supervise other state employees. Under such circumstances, uniform policy becomes not only difficult but improbable.

Each of the regional centers of the Department of Education has a representative of the Division of Special Education. Authority and responsibility are not quite decentralized. The regional centers have most of the responsibility but very little of the authority. They are often by-passed and often cannot provide school systems with consistent answers to their questions.

The Division of Special Education annually disburses the sum of $15 million dollars in federal monies. Some of those projects include Chapter 766 services for incarcerated youth in the county jails, budget planning with human services, pilot projects with human service agencies at a local level and projects to maximize third party payments for school systems. The Division also purchases more than $8 million dollars worth of educational services with state monies for children in institutional schools. Accountability is difficult to pinpoint in either area. Fiscal audits of the Department of Education ignore program content and program audits of the Division of Special Education ignore fiscal practices. The standards of accountability imposed by the Department upon the school systems are not imposed upon themselves.

OFFICE FOR CHILDREN

The Office for Children was created out of a concern to address the unmet needs of children in this state. Their principal statutory responsibilities overlap those of the

other state agencies. The key mandates are: 1) to be an advocate for children; 2) to coordinate children's services of all state agencies; 3) to monitor and evaluate state-run and state-purchased programs for children; and 4) to license day care centers, foster care agencies and group care facilities. There is little doubt that OFC has dramatically increased the public consciousness about the needs of children - more children are receiving more services today because of their efforts in the last 5 years. But there are serious limitations to the success of this agency. The limitations to OFC's success result from several factors.

First, there is inherent conflict in the state agency role which OFC has assumed with other state agencies. Bureaucratization is inevitable, and such is the case with OFC. Second, in their present position, OFC has no direct authority over other state agencies making the coordination of services a process of negotiation rather than advocacy. Third, individual cases become the thrust of the organization rather than issues that are common to classes of children throughout the state. Fourth, OFC attempts to do too much - assuming more involvement because other state agencies are not fulfulling their responsibilities with the result that other agencies do not change - only OFC does.

OFC chairs the Interdepartmental Team which makes decisions when no single agency or school accepts responsibility for a particular child. The success of the IDT is difficult to gauge. Conceptually, the IDT is one of the most responsive and responsible ways of insuring that children receive services required by law. However, the varying commitment and authority of its membership has often produced indecisive findings, necessitating yet another layer of administrative intervention at a central or secretariat level.

OFC provides direct services to children. They are case managers and they purchase programs for children in emergency situations. Each area (there are 40) has $20,000 in flexible funds. They spend these monies according to local priorities. Some areas spend most of their allotment on summer camp programs while other areas prioritize legal services. OFC's role as purchaser of services is a direct contradiction to their role as advocate and coordinator. To continue to provide the service on an ad hoc basis is to camouflage the need. To purchase the services from the same providers that other agencies are forced to utilize by the laws of supply and demand, and thereafter have the responsibility to monitor and evaluate the service providers leaves the agency in a compromised position.

The licensing function of OFC, which is a unique and crucial role, is understaffed. There is a current backlog of applications for a license or for renewals which ultimately result in a continuation of programs that do not meet acceptable standards. Temporary and provisional licenses are becoming the norm rather than the exception.

The advocacy role for children needs to be in an uncompromising position with real clout. OFC, as presently organized, cannot guarantee the detachment or the institutional autonomy required for genuine advocacy.

MASSACHUSETTS REHABILITATION COMMISSION

The Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission has placed its professional staff of vocational rehabilitation counselors in a difficult position - while the central Administrative Office, guided by Federal regulations, mandates a top priority for severely disabled people, its internal tracking system functions to discourage counselors from picking up those same cases. In those cases where the counselor continues to work with clients with low success rates, the counselor may be penalized. This category unfortunately includes many juveniles, otherwise eligible, who have a poor track record and little motivation.

There is consensus within the Commission, if not throughout the state, that the adolescents who enter the state's human service systems are "tough cases." The MRC has a well-trained, competent staff who provide services to these "tough" clients. The practice will not become widespread, however, until the Commission encourages and rewards its professional staff to do so.

MRC counselors attend school core evaluations at their discretion. While schools have complained that MRC doesn't respond to them, counselors note that they are often not welcome at a core evaluation. The formal MRC process to permit service for children covered by Chapter 766 is designed to deny service in most instances. Most often, MRC serves kids who have left school and do not want to return. Staff are unclear about services they can offer to high school drop-outs and practices vary from counselor to counselor, and from office to office.

MRC is currently isolated from other state agencies serving adolescents. Few DYS, DPW and DMH staff have a working understanding of what MRC can do for its clients.

DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES

The Department of Youth Services is entrusted with the care of one of our more volatile populations. The agency is subject to more legislative and media scrutiny than any other agency which deals with children and youth. They devote much of their energy rebounding from the last crisis and preparing for the next.

The Department relies upon a decentralized regional structure to provide services. The resources of the agency are focused upon the purchase of services. Each region negotiates contracts for most of the services they require. Since the regional structure is so diverse, the result is that contract guidelines are far from uniform and central policy is often ignored.

DYS personnel are more oriented toward the delivery of services than they are toward monitoring the quality of services. They are not trained or inclined to monitor programs. Even if they were so inclined, DYS has no prototype programs of its own to measure private programs against.

Services for acting-out adolescents are scarce in this state. In DYS, the problem is especially acute. The agency is able to acquire support from other human service agencies such as DMH, DPW and MRC only with extreme difficulty. They have been even less successful with Chapter 766. Although Chapter 766 requires the Department of Education to establish institutional school departments in all of the DYS institutions, they have not done so. The experiences of DYS with the schools has been dismal. The agency estimates that it would cost more to prod schools into paying for some services than it would to provide the services within the DYS budget. The agency is probably correct.

Like all state agencies examined, DYS suffers from the fall-out of an archaic Civil Service law. Bluntly put, some case workers have very few difficult cases. Salaries are the lowest in human services and the turnover is high. The Probation Service is an attractive employment option for many good DYS workers who leave DYS because of the differential pay scale.

DYS is making one of the more earnest attempts at program and fiscal control. They have far to go. It will be extremely difficult to carefully monitor and evaluate private programs because the services DYS purchases are not unique to this agency - they purchase their services from providers who have multiple agency contracts.

The access to services for DYS committed youth is determined by three factors: 1) the geographical location of the youth; 2) the available openings in purchased programs; and 3) the money already expended to date in the region affected. And while there are tight ceilings on regional expenditures, DYS has no control over the numbers of commitments by the courts. Courts often commit adolescents because of frustration with other agencies, not because the young person has committed a serious offense. Often the result is more crisis in the agency.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

The Department of Public Health has statutory responsibility for various types of children's programs - medical clinics are sponsored throughout the state for children with crippling congenital conditions; a range of developmental and specialized day care programs are purchased from the private sector; 6 preschool programs for the 3-7 year old crippled child have been established - half of the children are "normal"; alcoholism programs for youth, foster homes for adolescents, and early intervention and screening programs are sponsored.

Following the 1973 legislative session, DPH was assigned responsibility for mentally retarded youngsters. The result has been a terrific growth in pediatric nursing homes because state schools are closed for new admissions. 256 children are now in pediatric nursing homes. There are indications that some of these children's cases are not severe enough to warrant their placements in nursing homes. There is a strong likelihood that we will continue to fill up pediatric nursing homes unless we strictly regulate this field.

DPH has tripled their growth in programs and dollars during the last three years. The agency was not prepared to manage that level of growth by contracting with the private medical providers. Contracts for the same types of service vary from provider to provider, dependent upon overhead rates and consultant fees. Standardized contracting and fiscal monitoring procedures are being put in place, and they are among the better models that we encountered in this investigation. The real issue is the negotiating strength of DPH with the medical community.

Efforts to have the local schools assume their legal responsibilities under Chapter 766 for some of the costs for children in DPH programs have been difficult and success is uneven.

DPH represents one of the better examples of the organizational dilemna which cuts across all agencies serving children; how does one efficiently manage separate and distinct services to children which complement or duplicate the efforts of other state agencies? And, as a corrolary, how does one maintain quality services and guarantee access to those services by children in need? There are legitimate issues in DPH concerning the unequitable allocation of the services among regions of the state. And there are legitimate issues concerning the selection of the providers of these services. But there is no question as to the high quality of services which have been provided to children by DPH.

The issues that confront DPH are important ones. They are issues that transcend all state agencies. They will not be resolved by employing consultant firms to do one month evaluations of major divisions of the agency. Such tactics do little, in the final analysis, for children except drain the commitment of state personnel.

DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HEALTH

The Department of Mental Health has the most extensive network of services that affects children and families in the state. Its services include clinical therapy, institution-based services, educational services and social services. The population served includes early childhood, emotionally disturbed children and adolescents, juvenile offenders, school age children with learning disabilities, and the families of children who need support services as part of their child's treatment. During the past several years, DMH has forged a stronger relationship with the local schools than any of the other human service agencies, either through cooperative arrangements or contractual agreements.

In the field of mental retardation, DMH compliments the state schools for the retarded with several community-based programs which is part of a painful process in this state to minimize the institutionalization of mentally retarded and developmentally delayed children. There remain more than 1800 children and youth in the state schools, half of whom are 18 to 21 years of age. Three of the state schools are the subject of federal litigation because of substandard conditions and unequal educational opportunity required by law. Education of the children in state schools and children who have been returned to a community setting from state schools are the responsibility of the State Department of Education.

The type and the quality of services to children and youth varies significantly from community to community. The variances are explained by the disproportionate concentration of professionals in certain communities of the state, the wealth of individual communities, and the level of accountability which is applied against the DMH staff of professionals in different areas of the state. The universal consensus of all state agencies and the schools who were interviewed is that DMH could and should be doing more for children and adolescents. The data supplied to this task force by DMH facilities indicates that the population served at present is not reflective of the statewide characteristics of the total population by any stretch of the imagination.

The regional programs established by DMH during the past year for disturbed adolescents have met with varying success. The conflict, between those who claim the need for these programs, and those who fear that the demand for the programs will create the supply of adolescents to fill them, is evident throughout the state. In one region, the adolescent program has been contracted through a private provider.

DMH has an annual appropriation of $2.1 million dollars in flexible children's monies, half of which is divided among the regions according to the equity formula the agency uses, and half which remains in the central office. The use of these monies is inconsistent from region to region, with some areas simply supplementing their regular staff, some areas beginning innovative programs, and some areas buying into the same privately-operated programs used by DYS, DPW, DOE and OFC. The monitoring and evaluation of these contracts to private providers by DMH is as poor as it is by the other agencies serving children in the state.

DMH staffs court clinics throughout the state who perform court ordered diagnostic evaluations of children and youth. Assessments which they complete are often not made available to the schools and agencies which are required to deliver services to these children, requiring public agencies to duplicate the evaluations and double the expense.

The drug and alcohol abuse programs sponsored by DMH through a combination of state and federal monies is clearly not an agency priority. There is overlap with the programs sponsored by DPH and interagency coordination in this field has been minimal.

The movement of children from the state schools to community-based care has been difficult because of the expense of such programs, because of community resistance through the imposition of zoning and licensing restrictions,

and because of the reluctance of the local schools to absorb the costs for the expensive educational programs. These obstacles to community based care for children will cost the state more in the future if we do not invest in such programs and refine them now. Since half of the children in state schools are between the ages of 18-21, one has to question what will happen when they reach their 22nd year and are no longer covered by Chapter 766.

Recently, DMH has deployed more of its resources to the identification and treatment of developmental delay in children between the ages of 0-3. It should be a clear priority of the state if we are to avoid the unconscionable warehousing of children in the future.

The trends in DMH programming are directed by a creative leadership. The real potential of DMH lies in its organizational structure which utilizes citizen boards in each of the 40 areas of the state. They prioritize programs and allocate resources within state policy guidelines. With a more diverse membership, with effective training in monitoring and evaluating programs, and with area based budgeting, these area boards could become one of the better guarantees of quality programs for children and families throughout the state.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The Department of Public Welfare has been in a continuous state of transition since the state takeover eight years ago. They have two major responsibilities: assistance payments to eligible clients and social services to families and children. This dual role produces an irreconciliable management conflict model - the clear loser is social services to children and families. The priority of DPW is cash payments. Social services, for all practical purposes, are drifting out of control. The various social service programs consist of $63.8 million dollars of purchased services - the cost of administering those programs exceeds $13 million dollars. During the past two years, there have been three Assistant Commissioners for Social Services, a fact that has seriously hampered central policy and direction. The turnover and turn-around of central staff has likewise contributed to a lack of direction for the agency.

The level of morale among the social services staff throughout the state would be disturbing to even the most casual observer.

Programs for children who need day care, foster care, group care, and protective services are often successful only

because individual social workers and administrators endure. They manipulate the agency disorganization to get some children services. For their efforts, they receive little support.

There are serious problems in the control exerted over the contracting process for $63.8 million dollars worth of services. One indicator of the scope of the problem can be described by the fact that during the past six months, five separate lists of the 1976-77 contracts were provided to the task force. The lists cannot be reconciled, not even with the Comptroller's Office. There is less than effective planning in the spending of available funds - the donated funds account was over-extended by $2.6 million dollars with the result that some day care contracts had to be revoked to make up the deficit. In addition, the DPW computer payment system has made several double payments to its providers of care in the past year.

The environment and support system that DPW employees are required to operate under are the worst that were encountered during the evaluation. Intervention in the lives of children and families under those circumstances is destined to fail.

Systematic program evaluation by DPW, like all other state agencies involved in the care of children, remains a distant possibility. Until that goal is reached, the contracting process will not improve and the services will not improve.

THE CHILDREN'S SERVICES SYSTEM

Massachusetts expends a great deal of money each year trying to meet the needs of its children. Since the state tolerates a fragmented and splintered delivery system, it costs more to do less. One reason the system is so splintered is because each agency claims different regional and area boundaries.

There is no logic to the geographical boundaries of the different agencies which serve children. The boundary disputes can be highlighted on any state map. DYS regional boundaries follow the court jurisdictions, DPH regional boundaries follow their health service areas, and the DOE regional boundaries differ from all human service agencies. As a result, school systems must often have to negotiate with several local offices of the same agency. They may also have to negotiate with more than one regional director of the same agency. The same illogical pattern of definition of agency boundaries that confounds school administrators also plagues state and regional agency administrators.

The elimination of all of these jurisdictional differences would be an important first step in restoring coherence to the children's service system. Inroads have been made in the past year in the human services. But what is required is that the Legislature settle the issue by law.

The Intake & Referral Process

Each human service agency, every school system, and many contracted agencies in the private sector represent a possible point of entry into the service scheme for children. Only the schools, through Chapter 766, have a uniformly mandated procedure. Each human service agency differs. Each defines problems along the service lines of their own agency rather than according to the child's actual needs. In addition, problems are often defined in such a way as to place responsibility on another agency. MRC will define a problem that has to be addressed by the local school system because the service is required by Chapter 766. DPW and DYS often attempt to define problems so that they can pressure DMH into providing the services. Much of the human effort is to fix responsibility somewhere else rather than providing the services - this is particularly true when agencies are dealing with adolescents.

> *I will not work with aggressive adolescents. I have plenty of other people who need MRC services. I hope someone out there is working with the kids but not me.* (MRC Counselor)

The state is loaded with examples of this attitude. Some workers are not quite so direct, but a similar message gets communicated. For example, a DPW caseworker had an adolescent boy returned to her office from a foster placement after the boy molested a child. The worker tried 10 referrals for placement without success. Finally, the DMH Area Director agreed to provide services to the boy if the caseworker would write out 24 hour plans for every day. The worker couldn't and is now looking for another placement.

Who has responsibility for disturbed youth? Many agencies do under current legislation. And yet a child can be assessed and referred many times before he or she finds any service, let alone the service that actually addresses his or her need. More often than not the fact that a child is receiving appropriate services is the result of random chance.

Case Management

We repeatedly uncovered cases where several agencies were all managing the same child's case. Often, the private provider under contract with one or more of the same agencies is managing that same case also. The organizational mazes are neatly divided and duplicated. Whether to insure that a child receives the services after being referred to another "more appropriate" agency, or to maintain high case counts, several agencies will hold onto the child in their active case loads. The result can be ludicrous. In one example, following a crisis in a child's home, seven different agency workers converged on the house at the same time to give assistance. It was bedlam.

Continuity in case management is exceedingly difficult when agencies have a high turnover in staff (e.g., DPW, DYS, MRC, OFC, DOE). The questions must be raised why state service is becoming so unattractive that agencies lose so many people; where do they go when they quit; and what is the effect on services.

Another issue which must be addressed is the disparity in the respective caseloads of workers in state purchased programs and state workers performing the same type job. Once that issue is explored it becomes clear where many of the workers go when they leave state service.

Educational Services

All of the state agencies which serve children provide or purchase educational services. The cost of these services is increasingly borne by the local schools under

Chapter 766, despite tremendous resistance on the part of the schools. Programs established by DMH for severely troubled adolescents have an educational component averaging $9000/child/year. The tab is paid by the school district of residence of the child. DYS and DPW have made attempts to have school districts pay 50% of the costs of residential placements under an interagency agreement between the Human Services and Educational Services and approved by the Rate Setting Commission. DPW and DYS both use residential schools for some of their committed clients. OFC pays for selected educational programs. The Department of Education purchases $25 million dollars worth of private schooling for children in Chapter 750 programs. The Department of Public Health purchases preschool programs for crippled children. The Departments of Mental Health and Public Health have educational programs for developmentally delayed youngsters through age 7. The public schools are resorting more often to the purchase of private schooling for many children under Chapter 766. They are often required to do so by legal decisions of the Department of Education. DYS has limited educational programs in several of its intensive treatment and detention centers. There is no consistency of educational goals for these youngsters and program quality varies tremendously.

Residential - Group Care Services

My kid never had it so good. A social worker.

That sentiment was expressed often by workers in different agencies. However, upon close scrutiny this popular reference to group care may not be as accurate as many assume. But group care is certainly expensive; and from our findings it costs the citizens of our state much more than can be measured in tax dollars. DPW, DYS, DMH, OFC and DOE all place children in group care facilities, and the local school systems are beginning to use the same group care facilities under Chapter 766.

It is a common proposition among experienced social workers that the further away you move a child from the home, the less likely the child will return home. One would assume that agencies would design programs whose aim is to support children in their home or closer to their home; or at least to promote service plans that make it possible for young people to rejoin their natural families. At present, children are placed in group care facilities not because group care is the best alternative for the child but rather because no other alternative is made possible.

Each agency places children differently. They apply different selection criteria. Yet the children wind up in

the same facilities. If all agencies use the same limited facilities without encouraging better alternatives, then private providers are afforded the luxury of choosing to serve children with less severe problems. The simple explanation is that given a larger demand, the private provider becomes more selective about who gets in and who doesn't. The child with the more severe need gets left out.

The procedure used by DPW for group care placement is a good example of the procedure used by all agencies. DPW is not only responsible for children committed to its care and custody because of abuse, neglect or abandonment but also for children committed under the CHINS law. The Group Care Unit, based in Boston, receives referrals from the area based social workers. Across the state, a social worker has to put together diagnostic and social histories of the child. The case is sent to Central. There it is decided whether to refer the child to a group care home. If the unit decides to go ahead, they forward the child's record to a home which might have an opening. They will get an answer two weeks to six months later. If the group home responds favorably, they will screen the child to determine whether they want the child. If they reject the child, the process repeats itself with successive private providers until a placement can be made. What happens to the child during this process?

> *If a child has lived in a family for 10 years, he can survive there for another 6 months, and it is worth the wait in order that GCU can make a proper placement.* A supervisor of social workers.

The intervention which requires removing the child from the home is usually an abrupt one. It often results from the lack of other alternatives which could keep the child at home or closer to home. The return of the child from the group care home is usually just as abrupt (particularly in DPW), with very little advance preparation - quite often the child will require another placement in short time.

DPW purchases group care for approximately 1800 youngsters and defines them in three major categories: 1) mentally retarded (320); CHINS (129); and emotionally disturbed (1091). Over 260 of the mentally retarded youngsters are located in only four facilities and 75 of them are over the age of 18. The statistical breakdown for emotionally disturbed youth and CHINS in DPW group care is as follows:

Age Range	Emotionally Disturbed In Group Facilities		Number of Chins in Group Facilities	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
2-9	51	5%	8	6%
10-13	256	24%	5	4%
14-18	721	66%	114	88%
19-22	63	5%	2	2%
TOTALS	1091	100%	129	100%

In 1975-76, there were 948 referrals to the group care unit. Of that number, 557 were emotionally disturbed and 348 were CHINS (341 of them were also labeled emotionally disturbed). Nearly 70% of all referrals come from the 14-18 age bracket. During the length of time at the central office that it takes to place a child labeled emotionally disturbed or CHINS, the local social workers are on their own. A large number of CHINS return home with no support or must fend for themselves and locate their own foster family. We have no other alternatives.

Residential - Foster Care Services

Exhaustive studies on the status of foster care in Massachusetts have been conducted over the last six years. The data supplied by DPW and the many social workers who were personally interviewed indicates that not much has changed during this period of time. What has changed is the level of competition among several state agencies for foster parents, and among the privately purchased programs of state agencies. DPW has a fixed rate per day which it pays its foster parents. Other state agencies pay higher rates for the same type of care, or authorize their contracted agencies to pay a higher rate for foster parents. The end result is competition: foster parents switch from being a resource for DPW to being a resource for other state agencies or their contractees.

OFC sponsors a program to recruit foster parents and then acts as a broker to other agencies needing foster parents, a role often resented by DPW. In turn, social workers from DPW, after identifying prospective foster parents, do not share these resources with other social workers or with other state agencies for fear that when they need to place a child, there will be no available space. They insulate prospective foster parents from children to serve their own needs.

The most difficult placements are for adolescents - and that is the area of greatest need. However, with competition among DYS, DPW, DMH and OFC, the result is a threefold dilemna:

1) There is duplication of services and efforts between state agencies within every region of the state;
2) There is duplication of services and efforts between public agencies and their own publicly-purchased, privately-provided programs;
3) The current division of fiscal resources across so many agencies weakens the potential of each of the agencies to be efficient, productive and successful. Therefore, the multiple-agency efforts are each other's worst enemy.

Recruitment of foster parents is such a high priority that little attention is given to effective training of foster parents. Social workers admit to this need, but in the same breath claim that they don't have time. The result is that a child is often misplaced. Foster children often run away or foster parents often give up and the local welfare office must find an alternative placement on abrupt notice. The foster parents rarely volunteer a second time, claiming they "weren't prepared" the first time, or "the social worker didn't tell us the truth about what it would be like." In the long run, a smaller pool of capable foster parents is available. Services deteriorate in the following manner:

1) Children are placed in inappropriate homes because they are the only available homes;
2) The social workers spend a great deal of time responding to the crisis caused by inappropriate placements;
3) Children may be placed in homes where the foster parents have been investigated for abuse and neglect of their own children;
4) Children are placed in foster homes that have an inordinately high number of other foster children placed in the same home.

The above conditions were present in all but three of the welfare offices which were visited in the course of this study. Also, the study team found different agencies were competing for limited public service time available through the media. DPW lost most often.

At the present time, there are approximately 6000 children in foster care in the Department of Public Welfare. Using the Department's computerized data system, we found that 16% of these children (995) are placed in 171 homes which have 5 or more foster children. Over 300 children are placed in families who have more than 7 foster children. The prospects for these children are not good.

Each state agency functions as a self-serving unit. They withhold knowledge of potential foster homes from each other and workers sometimes even withhold information within their own agency. Unless the state moves to collect the fragmented efforts of these state agencies into a unified effort, there will be no improvement.

Protective Services for Abused and Neglected Children

Abuse and neglect of children transcends all classes. It is a national problem and an extremely sensitive area because of the potential of government to intrude into family life. More and more cases of abuse and neglect are being reported to the Department of Public Welfare each day. This growth is reflected in the comment of one high ranking state official calling abuse and neglect "the sexiest thing of the year." Professionals are entering the field from various state agencies and from the private sector with almost no advance planning. One problem is that no single agency now possesses the total capability necessary to deal with this problem - the result again is a splintering of resources rather than a coordinated effort.

Despite the increased public awareness of the problem of abuse and neglect, there has not been coordination of the available resources scattered among various state agencies to deal with the problem. The Department of Public Welfare has the greatest demand for protective services of any individual agency. The regional offices of DPW have special units who deal only with reports of abuse. The dividing line between the definition of abuse and neglect is thin - the consequence is that untrained social workers sometimes intervene in cases presumed to be neglect with disastrous consequences for the child involved. DPW is investigating several such instances.

The protective case workers of the Department of Public Welfare work against tremendous odds. They have to be respected for what they have accomplished. Many of them feel betrayed by their own Department. One reason for this feeling of betrayal is the Department's decision to contract with the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic in the amount of $530,000 to provide clinical teams and case worker teams to work alongside the DPW protective case workers in the regional offices. That decision sparked a great deal of resentment among line workers because:

1) the salary scale of the DPW workers is lower than their Judge Baker counterparts;
2) the Judge Baker workers have a support system which the DPW workers never had - access to training and clinical resources such as psychiatrists and psychologists;

3) DPW workers believe that the state should have hired additional state workers rather than resort to the private sector;
4) workers were not informed of the decision until the new teams arrived, creating conflict that has just begun to subside.

The Department of Public Welfare's contract with the Judge Baker Clinic raises the important issue many people avoid - what amount of overhead is the state willing to pay to receive specialized services contracted from the private sector. And, as a corollary, what is legitimate overhead expense and what is not. In the case of the Judge Baker Clinic, nearly 1/4 of the contract is for overhead, a questionable investment considering the tremendous need for protective services. We do not question the quality of services which Judge Baker provides - they enjoy a national reputation - rather we question whether the decision to pay an agency such high overhead for staffing a state agency is the result of intelligent planning. One of the most pressing needs in protective services is for access to the type of clinical services which DMH provides. The reason we do not improve the DMH network of clinics to support the protective case workers is unclear. Currently, each protective service worker in DPW negotiates whatever services they can from DMH clinics on a case by case basis, relying most of the time upon friendship with the clinical staff.

Officials in the Department of Public Welfare admitted that they did not have the capability to evaluate the Judge Baker Clinic, and Judge Baker officials confirmed the DPW admissions. This does not say much for public managment. How can the state utilize the private sector intelligently and creatively, and still demand accountability? How can the state decide when it is in its interest to resort to the private sector and when it better serves the public interest to expand public services? These are important questions for some agencies.

Other agencies in this state are becoming increasingly involved with protective services. OFC has a federal grant to train and to coordinate interagency efforts. They will also train mandated reporters and DPW social workers. Although DPW is legally responsible for protective services, OFC has been designated as the lead agency.

DMH also provides limited protective services through its decentralized staff working in community centers. which occasionally raises issues of their professional training to be managing cases of child abuse and neglect. Also, there is a network of private agencies under public contract dealing with protective services. Private agencies sometimes don't

even report who their clients are to the contracting agency. The consequent disarray leaves DPW struggling to provide protective services each day with a paucity of resources. It appears that everyone wants to show DPW how to do its job; no one has given DPW adequate support to get it done.

Day Care Services

Publicly supported day care is one of the explosive issues of child care in this state. The service is linked to several state goals: 1) to allow a parent to be employed; 2) to prevent abuse and neglect of children; 3) to provide emotional stability for children when the home environment is questionable; 4) to serve special needs children requiring developmental or therapeutic day treatment; and 5) as early education for children whose early development is delayed by environmental factors.

Nearly all state agencies provide some type of day care services although DPW is the principal agency for regular day care programs. All day care programs are contracted. Ten private day care agencies under contract with DPW receive 23% of the $21.5 million dollars appropriated by the state for F77. The total appropriation is divided in the following manner:

REGION	Day Care Slots	State %/Total	Day Care Dollars	State %/Total	AFDC Recipients	State %/Total
Boston	2644	28%	$ 6.5 M	30%	43,045	27%
Springfield	1426	15%	$ 3.2 M	15%	21,432	13%
Greater Boston	2420	25%	$ 5.5 M	26%	34,231	20%
New Bedford	966	10%	$ 2.1 M	9%	29,305	17%
Lawrence	1116	12%	$ 2.6 M	12%	20,851	12%
Worcester	957	10%	$ 1.7 M	8%	17,334	10%
TOTALS	9529	100%	$21.6 M	100%	166,198	100%

The chart shows that the New Bedford region is a clear loser in the allocation of day care resources. They have 18% of the AFDC population in the state and receive only 9% of the available dollars while Greater Boston, with 20% of the AFDC population receives 26% of the available monies. Within areas of any region, the disparities are even greater. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that those persons most in need of day care services will actually receive them, because day care centers are allowed by contract to screen and determine eligibility for their own clients and DPW never sees the client. As long as the client satisfies the Title XX guidelines applied by the private agency, DPW must honor

the vouchers. DPW had to negotiate a concession on the part of the day care providers - to inform the Department of vacancies, since if the day care center is 80% full during given periods of time, they are paid the full rate as if they were 100% full.

An interesting comparison would be a business with $21.5 million dollars in purchasing power to contract with a series of individual companies and the best bargain that they could exact is the following: a product will be delivered but you won't know to whom it was delivered; you won't know whether the product was delivered to a person whom you wanted it delivered to; if you have someone whom you want the product delivered to, you won't ever be able to guarantee that the person will ever receive it; if the product is delivered to 80% of the people you want it delivered to, you have to pay the full price. That is hardly a model that any responsible business would follow and still remain in business for very long. Yet it is the model in Massachusetts.

The delays in state payment processes almost guarantee that smaller day care centers will not remain in business for very long, even if they are innovative and care about children. It was said of one large agency that they produce "Kentucky fried children." The size of those day care centers who survive increases each year. There is little check on the quality of the services provided although day care offers a unique opportunity to be the basis for early identification of problems in emotional and cognitive growth of high risk children. If those problems are not identified early, they will cost more when the child is older and requires special education services in the schools.

Disturbed Adolescents-CHINS-Delinquent Youth

People interviewed throughout the state perceived a critical need for secure residential settings for disturbed adolescents, CHINS commitments, and delinquent youth. The problem was often overstated and mirrored the state's lack of treatment success with children in these categories. Day and residential treatment units have been expanded in all regions of DMH for disturbed adolescents, DYS is in the process of transferring all detention of CHINS commitments to DPW, and DYS has expanded the range of its own facilities to deal with the demand for more secure settings. The DYS-DPW transfer of CHINS detention is premised upon the belief that making DPW responsible for all pre-adjudicative and post-adjudicative detention of CHINS will address the need to make CHINS a comprehensive early intervention program

administered under one agency. The focus is supposed to be on treatment rather than detention.

In reality, the transfer tells another story. Social workers throughout DPW are expressing legitimate concern over their preparation for the department's new role. Many see the CHINS transfer leading DPW down the path of establishing its own secure detention facilities. It is the opinion of DPW workers that the lack of available foster and residential care, coupled with their own agency's organization problems, will make the transfer a failure. They predict that more DYS commitments will result.

There is little doubt that early intervention, comprehensive diagnosis and assessment of a child and his family, and the prompt development of a treatment plan is the only way that the state can effectively deal with this age group. But this process will not happen by hoping it will be followed unless there are resources available, an organization capable of early intervention, and a network of services that can help the child.

We are also avoiding the major issue underlying CHINS commitments. Is the state helping these children by forcing them through a criminal justice system in order to get them assistance. A second issue that needs resolution is the environmental harm caused by placing status offenders in the same facilities as juvenile offenders. In 1975-76, DYS spent $7 million dollars and DPW spent $10 million dollars purchasing services from the same providers of care. The chart on the following page is indicative of some of the duplicative use of providers by these two agencies.

* * * * *

AGENCY NAME	DPW Expenditures 1975-76	DPW Contracts 1976-77	DYS* Expenditures 1975-76
Adolescent Counseling in Development, Inc.	7,854	62,368	85,290
Action, Inc.	99.952	203,908	61,452
Anker House	37,445	76,050	109,008
Boston Children's Services	445.302	370,984	115,207
Catholic Charities Association of Worcester	36,582	76,500	92.160
Center for Human Development, Inc.	43,537	176,667	254,968
Children in Crisis, Inc.	161,020	280,320	186.567
Come Alive Now	62,783	126,262	70.067
Community Advancement Programs, Inc.	1.428	55,682	931,871
Cushing Hall	64,607	77,616	42,508
DARE, Inc.	653,488	833,101	475,313
Downey Side	188,551	342,920	56,602
Harbor School	537.363	672.000	255,461
Hyde Park House	29,832	71,141	100.109
Madonna Hall	309,328	729.004	135,434
New England Home for Little Wanderers	625,275	839,087	151,205
St. Anne's School	31,908	343,952	8.400
	3,336,255	5,337,562	3,131,622

*Figures for DYS 1976-77 Contracts are not yet available.

As long as support systems for adolescents continue to fail - families, schools, human services - the number of CHINS, DYS and DMH commitments will increase unless and until we invest in successful programs. The populations of those three agencies are dissimilar only because DMH has clinical resources that DPW and DYS do not have. The question really involves the equitable sharing and pooling of all resources to deal with adolescents in a humane way. Public commitment must be directed to explore and test alternative methods of treatment rather than alternative forms of punishment. The constitutional standards of the right to treatment do not vary from agency to agency. Therefore, under the law, the quality and dollar investment of adolescent programs should not vary so erratically from agency to agency. The differential treatment accorded to adolescents in DPW, DYS and DMH might not survive a constitutional challenge.

Reported statistics of the Department of Public Welfare show that in the month of September, there were 129 CHINS placements in group care facilities; DYS in the same month had 216 youths placed in group care facilities. The facilities were the same in each department. DYS reported 52 youth placed in intensive treatment during the same month, while DMH reports similar statistics for their secure treatment programs. A number of the DYS adolescents placed in foster care were placed there by many of the same private providers that DMH funded with their flexible children's monies. Several of the adolescents participating in the DMH adolescent treatment programs were jointly committed to both DYS and DMH. The Gaebler Unit of the Metropolitan State Hospital constantly receives referrals of adolescents from DYS, some of whom they are able to treat.

DMH has only recently entered into the field of care for youth who would otherwise be labeled by the courts as delinquent. They sponsor court diversion projects and crisis intervention teams which serve a growing population who are indistinguishable from DPW and DYS committed youth. There appears to be more of a natural alliance with these three agencies than one would presume to be the case. The major difference between services provided in this area by the three agencies is often only the environment the adolescent came from. Children of wealthier families often end up in DMH. Children of less wealthy families often end up in DYS or DPW. Whenever DYS and DPW refer children to DMH, the response - more often than not - is no services because the child is not psychotic.

The secure treatment programs of DMH are more expensive than the similar programs established for DYS, and they have strong and costly educational components built in which require 766 core evaluations as a condition for entrance into the DMH program. The schools pay the educational cost of these programs which is upwards of $9000/youth annually. DYS, on the other hand, has to rely upon an insignificant level of federal funding to establish part-time educational programs. They receive almost none of the help from the schools which DMH is able to negotiate for the adolescents in its care. The result is a cruel double standard in how the state treats similar groups of adolescents.

Undoubtedly, DYS and DPW have pressing needs for clinical services - DMH has in place a comprehensive network of publicly-salaried psychiatrists and clinical psychologists. Yet, DPW and DYS have to contract with the private sector in order to support anyone with clinical services. This makes no sense.

Services for Mentally Retarded Children

The responsibility for the care of mentally retarded children is diffused among DPW, DPH and DOE. To some degree, OFC, MRC and DYS also deal with this population. There is no coherence to the manner in which the various agencies establish or purchase programs for the mentally retarded youngster. The local schools, under Chapter 766, also contribute to the overall lack of direction. Many of the agencies decide to purchase institutional placement for the child rather than developing alternative programs which would keep the child at home or closer to home. The following graph demonstrates some of the programs which are purchased for mentally retarded youngsters.

	DPW	DYS	DOE	LEA(766)	DMH
Avalon School	172,464	4,719	95,920	191,840	
Cardinal Cushing	327,222	6,636		292,645	83.409
Community Groups	338,997			96,283	
Crystal Springs	486,499		18,542	189,137	
May Institute	254,202		104,468	29,848	
Residential Rehabilitation	566,641	89,929		70,590	
Spurwink	56,447		10,879	13,715	
Stonegate	136,558	7,946		18,426	

DPH provides pediatric nursing home care for retarded children. The nursing homes have experienced phenomenal growth in the last several years. There is an excessive cost factor built into these "alternative institutions", - both human cost and financial cost. The situation will not improve until we alter the present scheme of services.

DMH continues to be responsible for children in the state schools and in community-based residences. The Department of Education, through the state-funded Bureau of Institutional Schools. is legally mandated to provide for the education of retarded children in state schools. The three-year BIS experience has not been particularly successful.

Since the 1975 fiscal year, BIS has been swamped with problems of implementation. They were clearly underfunded and understaffed to accomplish their mission. BIS was required to purchase programs using both the private sector and the educational collaboratives. The first stage of the process was to evaluate each eligible youngster in the state schools. The Department contracted at a rate of $450 per child. Apparently, the rate was too high.

The Department of Education has recently audited one of the original contracts to evaluate 130 children. The contract was for $58,500. Although $54,169.95 was actually paid out by the Department, only $29,336.55 was actually spent by the contracted agency. In other words, the contract called for the payment of $450/child and it only cost $225/child. The contracting agency claims the right to keep the difference since it was a "product" contract and it conceivably could have cost more than $450 to evaluate the child. The argument is specious at best. There are indications that the above case is the rule and not the exception; if true, it translates into $500,000 - $700.000 in lost service for retarded children.

The second stage of the BIS process was to develop educational programs for the children evaluated. The variances in the cost of the contracts for the same type of program are inexplicable. One developmental skills program for profoundly mentally retarded at Belchertown State School was contracted at $1968/child. An identical program for Wrentham State School was contracted at $9809/child. The only discernible difference is who provided the program. The quality of the programs visited during the course of this evaluation varied as much as their cost - the only factor that held constant was the level of commitment of the individuals actually delivering the services.

The level of administrative overhead paid by BIS is questionable. The overhead is explained to be essential because the state does not pay any monies on the BIS contracts until the fourth month. The consequence is that a substantial amount of the BIS appropriation is consumed in overhead instead of actual service.

In F75, the Department of Education contracted with Arthur Bolton Associates to develop program and fiscal models for BIS. The first contract was for the amount of $139,915 of which $49,647 (55%) was administrative overhead. The second contract increased the total award to $199,000.80, and the overhead total to $88,266 (43%). Subsequent contracts with Arthur Bolton brought the grand total to $700,236.20.

Other contracts for F75 varied between 9%-10% in administrative overhead with the exception of the contracts for evaluating youngsters in the state schools (their overhead depended on how much they actually spent of the $450/child to do the evaluation). In F76, an organization like the Hampshire Educational Collaborative charged no overhead since they were serving children from their own district while other collaboratives who were receiving children from their districts received up to 12% overhead. By F77, the

Hampshire Educational Collaborative was receiving 10% overhead; some other contracted agencies received nothing; while still others received 11%, 13%, 17% and 22.5%.

The Department of Education is looking to the future - a time when BIS will be entering the phase of the local schools assuming all responsibility for retarded youngsters. However, the Department should look to the past and find out what went wrong so that the schools will not repeat their mistakes. The state should also look to the past. A full scale audit of the BIS account should be conducted for all three fiscal years.

Drug & Alcohol Abuse Services

Several state agencies provide or purchase services to treat drug and alcohol abuse. Each interprets the nature of the problem differently and professional biases within each state agency encourages a non-coordinated approach to treatment. There is a proliferation of programs, state and federally funded, none of which can measure what constitutes a "successful" service. There is little control over this multi-agency non-dialogue. Some areas have several programs funded by different agencies and some areas have none.

Fifty-five percent of the clients of the Division of Drug Rehabilitation of DMH are under 21 years of age. Similar percentages are claimed by DPH and MRC, while the DPW target population is impossible to document. DPW and DYS purchase their services either by adding a grant to an existing program, or under the amorphous category of Family and Individual Life Counseling. Private programs often recruit their own clients, or the clients are referred by schools, courts or other private agencies.

Private agencies are frequently awarded block grants with designated utilization quotas, creating a system which demands the filling of quotas in order to receive full payment. Since private programs often determine client eligibility themselves, questions of conflict of interest may be legitimate.

Large umbrella organizations have become common because of the competition for federal, state and municipal dollars, and because of federal regulations. Many smaller programs who receive funding through umbrella organizations are charged administrative overhead by the fiscal conduit for unwanted and undocumented "administrative assistance." The programs are clearly important and should receive a higher priority than they have in the past.

PURCHASE OF SERVICES

Each of the state agencies serving children, and more recently, the local schools under Chapter 766, resort to the purchase of services system to meet their unrelenting needs. They do so for a number of reasons:

1) Certain specialized services are available only in the private sector.

2) The state does not want to expand its own personnel because of the attendant complications caused by an archaic civil service law and by organized labor.

3) Administrative mechanisms within state government which prevent the responsible delivery of services can only be averted by "03" contracts.

4) The state, as a matter of policy, wants to shift its role as provider of services to the management and regulation of services.

What has resulted is a state system of distinct agencies, all claiming specialized functions and a specific target population, who increasingly purchase their services from identical providers. Each agency has different contracting procedures, a different vouchering system, a different payment schedule, and different criteria for eligibility for services even though the services are for identical client populations. The capability to gauge the quality of purchased services, either through effective monitoring or evaluation procedures, is almost non-existent. Three major problem areas permeate the system:

1) State agencies have no acceptable definition of needs, program standards, or guidelines for measuring quality of services.

2) There is almost no sharing of information about programs agency to agency, even though they are contracting with the same providers. This also becomes a fact of life within an agency.

3) Fundamental control of social programs is slipping away.

Field offices of DPW had no knowledge of some significant contracts made between their own central office and private agencies. The contracts directly affected them and were for their area. Yet, they did not know what services were called for under the contract; they did not know who the clients were; and they did not know how the clients were selected. Regional offices of DMH often only had marginal information regarding contracts entered into by their central office. Several instances were

documented where one DYS region refused to refer a child to a program under contract to another region of DYS because of their prior experience with that program. Programs discontinued by one agency because of poor services are contracted with by another agency the following year. The predicament that we are walled into can best be described by the following analysis of the situation by an Assistant Commissioner:

> *I find in travelling region to region and going the even longer distance from one central office to another, that the staff will frequently tell diametrically opposed stories about the same program. One unit's favorite contractor is the next unit's most abandoned child beater. We seem to speak different languages about the same kid.*
>
> *I find it exasperating and frankly it makes me cynical when one group of child advocates tells me that the favorite program of another group of child advocates is the worst crap the Department could have funded. We need a way out of this morass.*

The private sector is not without its problems. The delay in payments for services rendered causes severe cash flow problems which require either a large capital base or the resources to secure a loan. Overhead rates soar as a result. Private providers are also deluged with multiple reporting forms from all of the agencies they deal with. They are required to deal with area, regional and central representatives of up to five different state agencies, the licensing function of the Office For Children, the Rate Setting Commission, the Regional Review Board of the Department of Education, and school officials. What happens in fact is not what was intended when the policy decision was made by the state to resort to a purchase of services system. We are creating dual bureaucratic structures and fostering the conglomeration of private providers into larger and larger agencies.

Throughout this evaluation, we repeatedly encountered small private providers who were forced to merge with a larger private provider in order to survive in the business of doing business with the state. Although fewer in number, the remaining providers are developing stronger legislative and organizational ties. There are several groups who represent major segments of the providers in order to increase their bargaining power. There is little doubt that the salaried staff of the providers will also organize themselves.

The state is consciously or unconsciously discouraging the innovation promised by a purchase of service system. The private sector is now plagued with many of the constraints which were the rationale for creating a private sector delivery mechanism. The

Department of Public Welfare has had an unofficial freeze on new programs for the last year. Other innovative programs are frozen out by the contradictions.

There is a discernible pattern emerging. The state agencies and the local schools are responding to an escalating demand for services by a population of children with similar needs, and they are contracting with identical agencies in the private sector to serve those children. The major differences between all of the contracting agencies are most often not determined by type of client, methods of service, or type of private provider; the differences are dollars, numbers of clients, bargaining strength, and the organizational maze a child must travel in order to get to the service.

The following chart shows the dollars transferred by state agencies and school systems to a sample group of private agencies. It speaks for itself.

NAME OF PROVIDER	1976 AGENCY CONTRACTS	1976 AGENCY DOLLARS	1976 SCHOOL PAYMENTS *
Adolescent Counseling In Development, Inc.	DPW-OFC-DPH-DYS-	$ 119,557	$ 19,642
Boston Children's Services Association	DPW-DMH-DYS-DOE	697,708	62,784
Browndale Inc.	DPW-DMH-DYS-DOE	281,653	235,839
Cardinal Cushing	DOE-DPW-OFC-DMH-DYS	370,614	292,645
Ctr. Human Development	DPW-OFC-DMH-DYS	304,975	-0-
CAP, Inc.	DPW-OFC-DYS	935,586	-0-
DARE, Inc.	DPW-OFC-DMH-DYS	1,197,447	10,000
Devereux Foundation	DPW-DYS-DOE-	2,422,423	207,009
Judge Baker Clinic	DPW-DMH-DYS-DOE	931,884	59,589
Madonna Hall	OFC-DPW-DYS-DOE	502,839	111,749
McCauley-Nazareth	DPW-DMH-DYS-DOE	271,344	25,929
Nazareth Hall	DOE-DPW	784,577	20,358
New England Home For Little Wanderers, Inc,	DPW-DYS-DOE	807,072	103,701
Protestant Youth Center	DPW-DYS-DOE	364,208	23,683
RFK Action Corps	DPW-DYS	429,265	40,195
St. Anne's Home	DPW-OFC-DMH-DYS-DOE	1,087,630	139,710
Walker Homes	DPW-DYS-DOE	534,808	138,067

* The local school payments were derived from the 1975-76 School Returns to the Department of Education and from data provided to the task force by DOE.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring should mean a systematic on-site review of the purchased services to insure that: 1) the services are actually being delivered; 2) the services are being delivered to the eligible population; and that 3) the contract is being adhered to. The term evaluation should mean a thorough review of the quality, success, and cost of the programs according to a specific technique capable of measuring success and failure.

For all practical purposes, neither monitoring nor evaluation exists for state agencies serving children. There is no system and there is no control. We spend $80 million dollars every year to purchase services for children without any demand for accountability. The level of monitoring and evaluation of purchased services is no less than malfeasance on the part of several state agencies.

> NO ONE KNOWS WHAT THEY ARE BUYING. NO ONE KNOWS WHETHER THEY ARE PAYING A REASONABLE PRICE. NO ONE KNOWS WHETHER THE SERVICES WERE EVER PROVIDED. NO ONE KNOWS WHAT THE QUALITY OF THE SERVICES WERE. *A state official.*

Two recently publicized cases highlight the failure of control in privately purchased services. In one case a private agency was alleged not to have provided its contracted services to DYS. The same agency had received $26,000 the preceding year from OFC, the agency charged to monitor and evaluate providers. OFC refused to honor the last $6000 of their contract with the agency. Yet, DYS continued to purchase. And OFC obviously did not monitor and evaluate. In the second case, a private agency was alleged to have physically abused youngsters placed in its group home. OFC had licensed the home, DPW and DYS had contracted to send children there. In addition, four children were placed there by local schools under Chapter 766.

The private providers themselves have pressured the state to adopt uniform standards for monitoring and evaluation. For the last two years they have not been successful. Everyone wants to avert further scandals because of the predictable consequences.

During the course of this study, it has become apparent that there will be more sensational reports of publicly supported mistreatment of children. They are inevitable.

PERSONNEL PRACTICES

The Governor's Management Task Force addressed most of the personnel issues endemic to the state agencies serving children. We support and adopt their view:

> *The Commonwealth's personnel administration system as currently constructed fails to achieve its purpose. Riddled with exceptions and loopholes, the existing web of laws and regulations has become a disincentive to the able government workers who constitute the majority of the work force. Mediocre performance is protected, raises are automatic, able personnel are often confined to dead-end positions and dismissal is virtually impossible.*
>
> * * * * * *
>
> *If the current atmosphere of apathy and distrust, the lack of reward for merit, the overly protective regulations and the politically inspired resistance are to be changed, there must be a sweeping reform of both the philosophies and procedures related to personnel administration.*

Two related personnel issues contribute to the quality and relevance of services to children: training and affirmative action policies. Staff training consists of a zero base - crash courses in basic survival techniques, the indoctrination of procedures and the completion of forms. Virtually no professional staff development exists. True professional development is discouraged and often denied a worker. No agency offers a comprehensive training program to their staffs and there are none that are planned. Training, inservice or otherwise, is given lip service, and only that. Most training is on-the-job, a technique that insures that mistakes will be made with children's lives in order that agency staff can learn how to intervene in children's lives.

Affirmative action is neither affirmative nor is it action. Key urban community offices of DPW have no minority staff. A reflective balance of minority personnel was strikingly absent throughout DMH site visits. DYS employed one of the more heterogeneous staffs. The other agencies serving children are much less impressive with their equal opportunity efforts.

Criticism was often leveled at DPW for its lack of black and Spanish-speaking social workers. Yet, no other agency except DYS could present a better affirmative action record. Neither could any other agency demonstrate a more serious attempt to hire and promote the same percentage of minority workers reflected by their client populations. The task force finds it doubtful that an agency can respond to minority client's needs when it fails to respond to simple societal pressures and government guidelines for fair and responsible hiring practices.

CONCLUSION

We began with the schools. We conclude with their efforts to collaborate with each other through membership in educational collaboratives. The intent of the law authorizing educational collaboratives was to encourage the cooperative development of programs between school districts in order to minimize duplication, inefficiency and waste. The educational collaboratives should be models for state agencies.

During the past several years, the educational collaboratives have enjoyed a period of growth without regulation. That growth was spurred by federal grant monies dispensed by the Department of Education, contracts awarded through the Bureau of Institutional Schools, assessments on member school districts, and, more recently, contracts with human service agencies such as DMH and DPH.

The largest of the collaboratives is the Educational Collaborative of Greater Boston, Inc. (EDCO). EDCO budgets more than $322,000 for administration, all of which is generated by overhead on contracts. EDCO has active projects that exceed $4.5 million dollars. Approximately $3.2 million dollars of BIS contract monies have been awarded to EDCO in the past three years. DMH and DPH have several contracts with EDCO. The Division of Occupational Education has awarded more grants and contracts to EDCO than to any other collaborative.

Other collaboratives have also fared well. They are becoming fiscal conduits for state and federal dollars. The pursuit of grants and contracts appears to have become an end to itself with minimal program and fiscal controls. In short, they are replicating the state delivery system of children's services. The collaboratives, and the state agencies serving children, must be brought under control. We do not intend to alter the voluntary nature of collaboratives. However, the collaboratives should be subject to the same fiscal and program accountability which should be the norm for all agencies who are the recipients of state monies.

Just as the schools have begun to collaborate with each other, so have the state agencies serving children. Representatives of human service agencies and the Department of Education meet weekly with the Secretary of Human Services to plan interagency cooperative endeavors, to identify interagency policy issues and to propose solutions. This group has outlined a plan to establish multi-service

collaboratives in 6 selected areas around the state to serve as demonstration sites for interagency collaboration at a local level. Each agency is committing substantial state and federal dollars to the project. The implicit assumption is that problems confronting state agencies can be resolved without legislative reorganization and without legislative controls. The task force concludes the contrary.

Demonstration projects aimed at multi-agency collaboration have been attempted over the last several years with marginal gains. The constraints to real success are inherent in the present division of agency responsibility. Those constraints will not be wished away.

The planning efforts of policy makers are predicated upon an assumption that each of them has accurate information about their own agencies. Just suppose that the information which they use to make policy decisions is not accurate.

APPENDIX A

Recommendations of Children's Services Task Force

In response to a request by Representative John J. Finnegan, Chairman, House Ways & Means Committee, the following recommendations for change were submitted in March of 1977.

Institute for Governmental Services
University of Massachusetts
Boston, Massachusetts

Memorandum For: Rep. John J. Finnegan, Chairman
House Ways & Means Committee

From: David M. Sheehan, Director
Children's Services Task Force

SUBJECT: Recommendations of the Children's Services Task Force

The recommendations developed by the children's services task force are the result of 7 months of intensive inquiry into the inner-workings of the present scheme of providing services to children. They combine our insight into the changes we view as essential, with the recommendations for change advanced by many individuals who have a direct interest in improving services to children.

The recommendations we support are different from those proposed by others. We are convinced that anything less will not suffice. In our judgment, the timing is excellent for this course of action, given the new directions the federal government is expected to pursue coupled with the recent passage of certain federal legislation.

We have a unique opportunity to redefine the nature of services, not only to children but to the entire family unit. This redefinition of services can be realized in a period of austerity and limited resources. In other words, we are convinced that we can do more with what we have without engendering fiscal irresponsibility.

We propose the following:

(1) State aid to education embodied in the reimbursement scheme of Chapter 70 must be changed to conform to state constitutional guarantees of equality of educational opportunity. The legislature should choose to act before the courts order the system to be changed.

(2) The Department of Public Welfare should be abolished. All social service programs should be transferred to a new department to be named the Department of Human Development. All assistance payment programs should

be transferred to a new department to be named the Department of Economic Security. The new department should include 2 divisions: the Division of Employment Security and the Division of Family & Individual Assistance.

(3) The Department of Youth Services should be abolished. All DYS programs should be transferred to the new Department of Human Development.

(4) The Department of Mental Health should be divided among two agencies: All programs related to mental retardation should be transferred to a new department to be named the Department of Rehabilitative Services; all other Department of Mental Health programs should become the foundation of the new Department of Human Development.

(5) The Department of Public Health programs related to crippled children (except the pre-schools for crippled children) and the responsibility for pediatric nursing home programs should be transferred to the new Department of Rehabilitative Services.

(6) The Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, the Commission for the Blind and the Bureau of Developmental Disabilities should be transferred to the new Department of Rehabilitative Services.

(7) The Office For Children should be abolished as a state agency. The licensing function and the flexible children's monies should be transferred to the new Department of Human Development.

(8) A quasi-public corporation should replace the Office For Children. The new organization should be governed by a Board of Directors consisting of fifteen members all of whom should be appointed by the Governor. The new organization should make annual reports to the Governor and the Legislature on the status of services to children; it should be empowered by statute to be an advocate for children, to represent children before any state agency and to initiate legal action against any state agency which is determined not to be in compliance with the laws of the Commonwealth. The new office should be supported by public dollars raised by an assessment of $2 per child between the ages of 0-21 who are residents of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth should assess each town and city in the state their proportional share and transmit the entire amount to the new organization on July 1st of each year without fail.

(9) The Department of Human Development, the Department of Rehabilitative Services and the Department of Public Health should all have congruent regional and area boundaries. The state should be divided into 6 regions and 40 areas.

(10) The Department of Education should have congruent regional and area boundaries with the Department of Human Development, the Department of Rehabilitative Services and the Department of Public Health. The educational collaboratives should conform to these same congruent boundaries.

(11) Each of the 40 human service areas should have an area board of consumers, professionals and child providers for each of the three Departments of Human Development, Rehabilitative Services and Public Health. The area boards should establish priorities within the guidelines of state policy and should have a designated area budget.

(12) The area boards of DHD, DRS and DPH should each designate one representative who should be a voting member of the board of directors of the educational collaborative in the area. Likewise, the educational collaborative should have a voting member on the area boards of DHD, DRS and DPH.

(13) The Secretary of Human Services should be empowered to establish uniform contracting procedures and uniform intake and referral forms; to establish uniform standards for monitoring and evaluating all human service programs; and to establish standard licensing procedures for the departments of Human Development, Rehabilitative Services and Public Health.

(14) The responsibility and the annual appropriation for publicly-supported day care should be transferred to the public schools over a 2 year period of time. Any eligible individual who chooses not to place their child in a public school day care program should be allowed to place their child in any day care program which meets legal standards. That person should be issued a voucher to pay for the day care services.

(15) Each of the departments of Human Development, Rehabilitative Services and Public Health should use a single instrument to determine client eligibility for services; and should use common individual service plans which assign responsibility for

each component of the plan to a human service agency or the local school system. Disputes concerning the assignment of responsibility should be resolved at a regional inter-departmental team meeting of representatives of each of those agencies.

(16) Uniform procedures should be established for the awarding of federal grant monies by the Department of Education. The approval of the Commissioner of Education and the Board of Education should be required for every grant award.

(17) Uniform procedures should be established for the programmatic and fiscal control of the educational collaboratives who receive state dollars through grants and contracts.

(18) The approval and evaluation of Chapter 766 private schools and residential programs should be done in conjunction with the departments of Human Development, Rehabilitative Services and Public Health.

(19) The Department of Public Health pre-schools for crippled children should be transferred to the educational collaboratives to serve as regional models for other educational collaboratives and school systems to replicate.

(20) The Department of Education should be empowered to promote the establishment of programs with educational collaboratives to encourage the return to the local community of children placed in residential schools under Chapter 750. Flexibility with that line item in the budget is required to provide the inducement to create the programs and the incentives to parents to consent to the program for their child.

(21) Program and fiscal audit functions should be combined in each of the agencies serving children.

(22) The Rate Setting Commission should be strengthened by adding more staff. Uniform criteria for administrating overhead should be developed and enforced.

(23) The House Ways & Means Committee should consider establishing a professional unit empowered to monitor, and occasionally audit, the federal and state monies expended by public and private agencies who provide services to children and families.

We did not address the issue of Medicaid and Medicare. Nor did we address the responsibility for the public health hospitals. However, it is our belief that the regulatory aspects of those programs should be installed within the Department of Public Health. One alternative is to follow the model of the HEW reorganization which establishes a Health Care Financing Agency.

Dated: March 14, 1977

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

- *community mental health*
- *state hospitals*
- *court diversion projects*
- *delinquency prevention*
- *drug & alcohol abuse programs*
- *services - court committed children & youth*
- *secure treatment - adolescents*
- *day treatment - children and adolescents*
- *foster care - group care - shelter care*
- *day care - transition to public schools*
- *abuse & neglect of children*
- *flexible children's funds*
- *licensing - community programs*
- *title xx designated agency*
- *quality control*

DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATIVE SERVICES

- *community mental retardation programs*
- *state schools*
- *massachusett's hospital school*
- *pediatric nursing homes*
- *early intervention services*
- *developmental day care*
- *developmental disabilities program*
- *crippled children's services*
- *rehabilitation services*
- *programs for the blind*
- *pre-schools for crippled children*
- *licensing of programs*
- *title xix designated agency*
- *quality control*

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC SECURITY

DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

- *unemployment compensation benefits*
- *employment opportunity — placement*

DIVISION OF FAMILY & INDIVIDUAL SECURITY

- *AFDC payments*
- *SSI payments*
- *general relief payments*
- *babysitter payments*
- *homemaker payments*

APPENDIX B

Tax and Education Data for Each of the
351 Communities of the State

The key to the chart on the following pages is as follows:

(A) = *Wealth per child in dollars;*

(B) = *Per pupil expenditures in dollars;*

(C) = *Equalized school tax rate in dollars;*

(D) = *Equalized school tax rate applied against residential property;*

(E) = *Reimbursements for special education divided by total pupils in the school system;*

(F) = *Special education reimbursements for 1974-75:*

(G) = *Actual valuation percentage;*

(H) = *Rank in state - wealth per child;*

(I) = *Assigned class for purposes of chart on Page 5.*

The use of the digits 10000 indicates that no reliable data is available for that particular town or city.

TOWNS AND CITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
001	Abington	29871	934	20	17	58	194777	51.5	330	IV
002	Acton	43814	1068	19	14	76	385718	28.9	156	III
003	Acushnet	36336	855	16	13	50	86366	41.3	222	IV
004	Adams	30871	10000	27	20	37	69030	51.6	284	V
005	Agawam	42269	905	17	11	51	274153	30.4	168	III
006	Alford	116038	10000	5	3	91	4573	-209	16	I
007	Amesbury	30538	867	27	18	44	130247	48.9	292	V
008	Amherst	54716	1283	21	13	105	373803	11	91	II
009	Andover	47578	1154	19	14	114	746897	22.3	130	II
010	Arlington	49479	1366	24	20	125	1090585	22.1	119	II
011	Ashburnham	36786	873	22	18	84	85854	42.9	219	IV
012	Ashby	28411	10000	24	22	45	30264	55.4	314	V
013	Ashfield	67708	1044	11	8	104	28984	-13	62	I
014	Ashland	41202	1099	20	14	17	41994	35.2	182	III
015	Athol	25121	663	20	14	62	154431	59.8	333	V
016	Attleboro	32206	1156	21	14	101	801854	47.1	268	IV
017	Auburn	41324	1110	21	18	41	149806	33.9	179	III
018	Avon	41527	1234	20	14	67	92944	35.0	176	III
019	Ayer	17162	915	20	14	49	163311	72.2	349	V
020	Barnstable	139262	1201	7	4	62	352745	-129	26	I
021	Barre	26596	1029	29	20	96	89298	59.0	327	V
022	Becket	112982	10000	10	9	51	14549	-72	33	I
023	Bedford	48202	1126	19	11	93	362075	32.2	126	II
024	Belchertown	34049	1018	16	11	110	152469	44.3	246	IV
025	Bellingham	22770	826	22	20	65	299062	62.4	349	V
026	Belmont	70583	1266	17	15	78	383737	-11	59	I
027	Berkley	28037	949	17	14	58	36266	55.8	317	V
028	Berlin	29942	896	27	24	93	62494	51.7	300	V
029	Bernardston	32802	986	20	15	40	17273	48.9	262	IV
030	Beverly	43773	940	15	12	51	418177	30.5	157	III
031	Billerica	27713	766	17	14	48	522882	54.2	320	V
032	Blackstone	22692	944	28	23	74	127138	63.9	342	V
033	Blandford	51798	10000	17	13	69	15832	14	108	II
034	Bolton	47606	1190	20	17	33	21202	23.2	127	II
035	Boston	46004	1424	16	6	45	3768282	65.8	141	III
036	Bourne	73630	1151	8	6	35	102356	-8	56	I
037	Boxborough	57143	1001	13	11	86	47268	1	81	II
038	Boxford	42711	920	21	18	51	75596	30.5	164	III
039	Boylston	39063	1040	20	17	80	58026	36.8	194	III
040	Braintree	49417	1207	14	10	94	863068	22.6	120	II
041	Brewster	154559	1005	7	6	83	55298	-184	20	I
042	Bridgewater	32173	1106	23	16	31	101162	47.7	270	IV
043	Brimfield	33865	1140	25	18	68	34908	44.2	250	IV
044	Brockton	29991	1086	21	13	60	1319754	48.8	298	V
045	Brookfield	31283	1208	25	21	74	41695	53.3	282	V
046	Brookline	101210	3235	16	9	69	396119	-61	39	I
047	Buckland	38901	10000	65	46	35	16219	40.9	195	III
048	Burlington	44034	1093	23	12	74	576026	29.8	155	III

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
049	Cambridge	73540	1873	22	10	137	1343379	-7	57	I
050	Canton	48840	1049	21	17	49	223894	22.5	124	II
051	Carlisle	34090	1054	24	21	102	90667	9	95	II
052	Carver	40121	939	22	12	68	77319	29.9	189	III
053	Charlemont	41713	10000	12	8	35	8317	36.2	174	III
054	Charlton	30764	10000	18	9	55	83561	47.4	286	V
055	Chatham	237384	1451	1	1	27	24796	-268	9	I
056	Chelmsford	29968	1066	22	17	64	639531	50.6	299	V
057	Chelsea	21636	1223	8	5	136	597876	66.1	345	V
058	Cheshire	31944	10000	24	20	39	27380	47.8	273	IV
059	Chester	46545	10000	13	9	72	19696	27.3	137	II
060	Ch esterfield	52000	1145	22	11	73	16273	20.7	106	II
061	Chicopee	33003	990	15	12	13	133512	52.9	259	IV
062	Chilmark	371429	2796	3	2	51	2869	-512	2	I
063	Clarksburg	25600	844	23	20	66	32595	61.5	331	V
064	Clinton	33639	956	18	14	36	84248	46.6	251	IV
065	Cohasset	55873	1374	17	14	161	314882	15.5	88	II
066	Colrain	56855	10000	13	10	36	12527	13	84	II
067	Concord	56987	1497	24	20	109	467635	19	82	II
068	Conway	54733	1185	13	11	67	15719	9	90	II
069	Cummington	82353	10000	15	10	49	5759	-30	46	I
070	Dalton	29409	10000	23	17	52	94871	52.4	307	V
071	Danvers	47721	1110	20	14	51	279077	25.1	129	II
072	Dartmouth	52276	969	16	12	56	262913	14	104	II
073	Dedham	50804	863	13	10	54	331875	19.7	113	II
074	Deerfield	45253	927	12	8	39	33725	24.6	146	III
075	Dennis	188351	10000	5	4	97	179322	-221	14	I
076	Dighton	34799	839	21	14	45	60037	42.4	236	IV
077	Douglas	41290	1017	15	12	58	42971	40.3	181	III
078	Dover	74555	1355	15	13	116	130025	-22	54	I
079	Dracut	21610	985	31	26	38	183487	62.8	346	V
080	Dudley	33386	10000	25	20	53	93752	45.5	255	IV
081	Dunstable	52849	10000	16	10	50	23688	11	101	II
082	Duxbury	47412	1189	21	17	62	191648	19.7	131	II
083	East Bridgewater	31462	1129	23	17	102	272917	47.2	279	IV
084	East Brookfield	30254	646	15	13	55	29405	48.1	295	V
085	Eastham	183333	1158	8	7	112	68831	-215	15	I
086	Easthampton	35000	999	20	11	38	101822	43.3	234	IV
087	East Longmeadow	47742	1103	17	11	41	141868	24.9	128	II
088	Easton	33532	1152	22	17	66	252791	45.0	252	IV
089	Edgartown	195966	1469	0	0	102	35903	-340	13	I
090	Egremont	90088	10000	13	10	92	24350	-43	43	I
091	Erving	197324	1049	9	1	173	51509	-219	12	I
092	Essex	64815	891	14	12	31	44608	0	68	I
093	Everett	65243	1291	17	11	180	1224144	-4	66	I

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
094	Fairhaven	32425	999	21	18	74	249583	49.7	264	IV
095	Fall River	27025	1179	17	12	88	1293985	57.3	322	V
096	Falmouth	30111	1145	12	10	67	358874	-31	48	I
097	Fitchburg	32133	998	23	16	62	454517	49.7	271	IV
098	Florida	111607	1225	6	1	97	21072	-70	34	I
099	Foxborough	38787	1065	25	18	62	246300	37.8	199	III
100	Framingham	50566	1258	18	12	88	1316396	19.3	115	II
101	Franklin	22240	948	28	24	92	502783	59.5	343	V
102	Freetown	34718	787	22	11	91	132200	39.8	238	IV
103	Gardner	33050	927	20	13	58	171391	48.8	253	IV
104	Gay Head	319652	10000	0	0	43	985	-414	3	I
105	Georgetown	30722	1065	22	19	62	110247	50.4	288	V
106	Gill	50313	977	14	6	56	15952	22.9	116	II
107	Gloucester	49740	1021	22	18	85	494566	21.6	117	II
108	Goshen	66038	1346	2	2	48	7364	-1	65	I
109	Gosnold	250000	4620	0	0	0	0	-341	7	I
110	Grafton	33211	1067	18	15	38	99867	48.4	257	IV
111	Granby	30231	1063	19	12	76	116922	52.5	296	V
112	Granville	58252	898	22	15	39	12063	12	78	II
113	Great Barrington	54649	10000	20	13	81	124861	16.9	92	II
114	Greenfield	46441	1015	20	11	55	201210	28.1	139	II
115	Groton	38835	10000	19	15	57	78815	33.3	197	III
116	Groveland	25152	917	26	22	64	104216	60.5	332	V
117	Hadley	52358	1159	19	10	85	62360	17.1	103	II
118	Halifax	32560	909	20	14	50	61095	46.7	262	IV
119	Hamilton	45101	10000	18	15	26	46652	29.9	147	III
120	Hampden	29632	835	22	18	22	31896	53.5	304	V
121	Hancock	56617	1296	5	3	64	11647	12	86	II
122	Hanover	35971	1249	21	17	68	231392	41.8	228	IV
123	Hanson	30769	978	21	17	34	80706	49.1	285	V
124	Hardwick	27660	1176	25	16	81	45493	56.6	321	V
125	Harvard	56213	1463	19	17	126	118862	4	37	II
126	Harwich	140218	1211	8	6	61	104339	-134	25	I
127	Hatfield	50595	877	13	9	54	34755	20.6	114	II
128	Haverhill	28030	1044	26	18	84	850369	53.9	318	V
129	Hawley	39135	10000	4	2	37	1933	-46	44	I
130	Heath	82857	10000	8	6	16	1719	-39	45	I
131	Hingham	40271	1137	20	15	32	174426	34.4	187	III
132	Hinsdale	55138	10000	14	11	53	20308	15	89	II
133	Holbrook	29217	1260	19	16	69	205047	53.3	309	V
134	Holden	11465	1074	14	12	85	273021	33.3	351	V
135	Holland	67222	969	19	15	39	12582	-7	63	I
136	Holliston	36069	1156	24	20	42	160375	43.6	227	IV
137	Holyoke	32366	857	15	10	31	449469	53.6	265	IV
138	Hopedale	45098	1305	23	15	150	144524	43.1	148	III
139	Hopkinton	42950	1007	19	13	98	164045	30.1	160	III
140	Hubbardston	34664	1085	23	16	71	33816	46.6	240	IV
141	Hudson	26489	900	27	22	41	171230	57.5	328	V
142	Hull	30698	1211	24	20	78	229642	51.4	289	V
143	Huntington	33440	10000	19	16	69	32287	43.2	254	IV

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
144	Ipswich	44223	1089	20	18	113	321483	29.0	152	III
145	Kingston	42832	862	16	13	55	92147	30.8	163	III
146	Lakeville	38825	830	10	8	122	177205	34.9	198	III
147	Lancaster	33848	937	19	15	13	13807	43.8	249	IV
148	Lanesborough	33333	1005	20	17	21	18622	45.8	256	IV
149	Lawrence	27212	1145	17	12	60	632474	56.1	322	V
150	Lee	39618	914	21	12	42	60686	36.4	191	III
151	Leicester	23449	983	20	15	32	66220	63.2	338	V
152	Lenox	56912	1140	15	11	83	107140	10	83	II
153	Leominster	34725	805	13	8	68	497662	43.4	237	IV
154	Leverett	52688	1231	16	13	115	31089	12	102	II
155	Lexington	52055	1440	22	18	89	738019	19.4	105	II
156	Leyden	42308	983	12	9	65	8271	29.9	167	III
157	Lincoln	90312	1681	15	14	180	196667	-35	42	I
158	Littleton	41320	1316	18	13	99	181702	34.8	180	III
159	Longmeadow	48344	1141	21	18	73	311823	21.1	125	II
160	Lowell	24460	796	19	13	51	842732	60.2	335	V
161	Ludlow	31434	985	14	11	42	175790	48.6	280	IV
162	Lunenburg	30217	1114	22	19	33	75139	51.0	297	V
163	Lynn	33493	1077	21	17	81	1269674	50.5	253	IV
164	Lynnfield	44661	1072	20	18	79	254493	28.2	149	III
165	Malden	41424	1021	16	12	96	990490	33.7	177	III
166	Manchester	67098	1091	16	14	72	95319	-11	64	I
167	Mansfield	31546	823	18	12	88	286545	47.3	277	IV
168	Marblehead	75391	1218	14	13	51	232207	-7	51	I
169	Marion	79153	1014	12	11	63	53448	-24	49	I
170	Marlborough	41974	852	7	1	102	707755	41.1	171	III
171	Marshfield	36095	988	20	16	96	554053	40.3	225	IV
172	Mashpee	217647	1336	4	3	33	17243		10	I
173	Mattapoisett	54500	902	15	12	57	77378	10	94	II
174	Maynard	40785	938	17	13	119	258843	33.7	184	III
175	Medfield	36745	1136	18	16	99	283222	41.3	220	IV
176	Medford	37177	1010	22	17	36	392126	41.4	217	IV
177	Medway	32179	976	27	18	29	76914	47.4	269	IV
178	Melrose	39531	1168	28	24	26	174557	37.5	192	III
179	Mendon	41791	925	13	10	65	46842	29.5	173	III
180	Merrimac	24127	10000	18	16	74	88442	61.6	336	V
181	Methuen	38385	915	16	13	47	328194	39.7	203	III
182	Middleborough	30255	943	18	14	62	231672	50.3	294	V
183	Middlefield	102778	10000	8	5	68	4862	-84	36	I
184	Middleton	38509	1032	23	15	107	118992	42.0	202	III
185	Milford	35587	1057	23	16	62	309262	53.2	229	IV
186	Millbury	26781	849	23	18	38	105835	57.5	326	V
187	Millis	34670	1057	19	15	131	237067	42.7	239	IV
188	Millville	28000	762	28	22	66	35082	71.3	348	V
189	Milton	53510	1120	16	14	105	470141	14	98	II
190	Monroe	102500	1353	10	2	49	1953	-57	37	I
191	Monson	30657	953	13	11	72	120367	49.9	290	V
192	Montague	35868	1071	21	14	76	130650	41.2	201	III
193	Monterey	136129	10000	7	5	88	13146	-117	28	I
194	Montgomery	47041	10000	11	7	70	10098	21.9	134	II
195	Mount Washington	291667	10000	3	2	0	0	-529	4	I

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
196	Nahant	54558	1091	19	17	77	62414	15.7	93	II
197	Nantucket	197711	977	5	3	76	72546	-232	11	I
198	Natick	46054	1090	20	14	68	543633	27.4	140	II
199	Needham	60899	1277	20	16	104	738099	4	72	II
200	New Ashford	137162	10000	4	1	0	0	-122	27	I
201	New Bedford	34089	898	15	12	84	1451240	50.5	245	IV
202	New Braintree	29609	1294	14	6	65	9349	52.9	305	V
203	Newbury	34316	1117	27	20	66	69437	42.3	233	IV
204	Newburyport	34949	1022	21	17	82	283147	43.7	235	IV
205	New Marlborough	102451	10000	9	5	93	22177	-66	38	I
206	New Salem	41379	1853	20	15	132	19142	36.9	178	III
207	Newton	62588	1592	24	19	81	1283900	2	69	I
208	Norfolk	31957	691	16	13	50	73827	45.5	272	IV
209	North Adams	26867	1034	25	16	53	214533	58.2	325	V
210	Northampton	42010	1235	19	12	74	354471	30.2	170	III
211	North Andover	47193	958	14	9	70	249913	23.8	132	II
212	North Attleboro	31486	945	20	13	31	136746	49.5	278	IV
213	Northborough	31567	906	20	16	57	178469	48.5	275	IV
214	Northbridge	28900	954	17	13	48	120983	60.0	311	IV
215	North Brookfield	23403	1099	21	15	53	61950	61.3	339	V
216	Northfield	56721	984	16	6	62	35077	10	85	II
217	North Reading	35316	1022	20	17	90	304396	44.6	232	IV
218	Norton	31552	1242	18	14	207	557636	44.8	276	IV
219	Norwell	42640	1228	21	17	45	121629	30.7	166	III
220	Norwood	43585	1101	17	12	129	866396	31.4	158	III
221	Oak Bluffs	140426	1331	9	7	83	30995	-133	24	I
222	Oakham	46661	1526	12	9	112	20518	17.6	136	II
223	Orange	19203	803	11	7	59	94672	69.0	347	V
224	Orleans	243406	1218	6	4	84	63809	-288	8	I
225	Otis	119870	1012	8	7	16	2937	-74	32	I
226	Oxford	23545	1090	26	19	17	49052	62.9	337	V
227	Palmer	31780	892	24	16	34	93106	48.5	274	IV
228	Paxton	39415	993	17	15	72	69184	36.7	193	III
229	Peabody	38008	1077	18	13	158	1750754	40.1	207	III
230	Pelham	49632	1060	20	16	57	14342	15	118	II
231	Pembroke	30387	811	20	17	65	241698	50.0	293	V
232	Pepperell	27014	10000	18	14	52	97000	55.0	324	V
233	Peru	105769	10000	10	5	48	4395	-85	35	I
234	Petersham	43011	934	14	10	26	6975	27.5	159	III
235	Phillipston	29758	686	11	6	20	5827	52.2	302	V
236	Pittsfield	37281	1165	20	13	69	786105	40.7	216	IV
237	Plainfield	74444	10000	10	7	23	1952	-13	55	I
238	Plainville	34547	773	17	12	65	91299	44.8	243	IV
239	Plymouth	72372	856	19	7	64	397601	-30	58	I
240	Plympton	45738	1010	15	11	67	29237	19.4	230	IV
241	Princeton	35368	1191	15	14	81	41945	41.8	22	I
242	Provincetown	146555	1474	9	5	101	59599	-129	144	III
243	Quincy	49146	1347	22	15	53	823161	28.8	122	II

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
244	Randolph	34659	1125	15	11	61	444711	46.2	241	IV
245	Raynham	32223	1099	27	20	54	121988	46.6	267	IV
246	Reading	40823	952	19	16	56	351462	34.6	183	III
247	Rehoboth	40148	880	19	15	59	117080	36.2	188	III
248	Revere	40441	1194	20	16	54	434142	35.2	186	III
249	Richmond	53409	877	16	13	25	10470	9	99	II
250	Rochester	51193	1100	16	12	98	56303	12	110	II
251	Rockland	25895	1193	20	15	78	316797	58.7	330	V
252	Rockport	120095	1269	9	7	83	35019	-92	31	I
253	Rowe	1581944	1714	1	0	288	20471	-2425	1	I
254	Rowley	38331	1104	22	19	93	82479	37.4	204	III
255	Royalston	32231	1095	0	0	47	11037	42.6	266	IV
256	Russell	41820	10000	20	17	67	27550	29.7	172	III
257	Rutland	30744	788	18	15	44	39112	47.7	287	V
258	Salem	53665	1159	22	13	109	746243	16.5	97	II
259	Salisbury	50881	910	18	13	39	555555	15	111	II
260	Sandisfield	134513	1042	6	3	17	1870	-105	29	I
261	Sandwich	160483	1171	7	3	22	29230	-186	17	I
262	Saugus	44308	945	18	14	30	186571	29.9	150	III
263	Savoy	52000	934	6	4	16	1813	-11	107	II
264	Scituate	37371	1107	17	15	40	210057	41.4	215	IV
265	Seekonk	44290	1110	17	12	21	67224	27.9	151	III
266	Sharon	42869	1234	24	19	54	193965	31.6	161	III
267	Sheffield	69730	10000	13	9	88	51557	-19	60	I
268	Shelburne	42857	10000	16	11	36	16426	31.5	162	III
269	Sherborn	58471	1258	20	15	105	127542	3	76	II
270	Shirley	29430	842	13	11	54	48923	52.6	306	V
271	Shrewsbury	40764	1005	15	11	25	120021	38.4	185	III
272	Shutesbury	75118	1274	0	0	75	13032	-20	52	I
273	Somerset	90440	1024	12	5	29	143970	-43	41	I
274	Somerville	28826	918	20	14	70	871266	55	312	V
275	Southampton	37487	831	14	10	51	48587	38.6	213	IV
276	Southborough	45977	969	18	15	67	121304	25.0	143	III
277	Southbridge	31363	855	17	12	32	109195	50.2	281	V
278	South Hadley	34608	1006	22	16	31	108066	45.4	242	IV
279	Southwick	38895	1025	19	11	40	76011	38.8	196	III
280	Spencer	26275	775	18	15	64	151153	55.8	329	V
281	Springfield	29757	1043	16	9	45	1282704	59.2	303	V
282	Sterling	37864	1018	19	15	75	98800	37.4	209	III
283	Stockbridge	100216	10000	11	9	80	33701	-41	40	I
284	Stoneham	44180	1144	7	5	69	315763	30.1	153	III
285	Stoughton	34348	1046	18	14	48	316952	44.7	244	IV
286	Stow	37596	1145	22	19	44	59466	38.4	211	IV
287	Sturbridge	46459	1031	18	9	61	91089	25.1	138	II
288	Sudbury	42174	1090	22	19	56	273838	31.9	169	III
289	Sunderland	76786	936	10	6	73	19985	-30	50	I
290	Sutton	34041	1049	18	15	96	126152	44.7	247	IV
291	Swampscott	57635	1299	30	27	153	471780	9	79	II
292	Swansea	36258	888	16	13	26	86856	39.3	223	IV

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
293	Taunton	29315	843	15	13	86	731215	52.6	308	V
294	Templeton	32758	859	14	10	24	37693	63.7	341	V
295	Tewksbury	28685	898	18	14	50	374972	50.8	313	V
296	Tisbury	151175	1394	9	7	69	38079	-139	22	I
297	Tolland	158325	10000	4	2	0	0	-191	18	I
298	Topsfield	42683	843	18	16	47	82536	31.3	165	III
299	Townsend	29023	10000	1		48	66736	51.3	310	V
300	Truro	269551	1427	4	3	38	11819	-339	5	I
301	Tyngsborough	32526	995	23	17	103	131798	45.6	263	IV
302	Tyringham	142029	1664	4	3	11	525	-117	23	I
303	Upton	33885	10000	14	12	63	55942	52.8	248	IV
304	Uxbridge	31058	869	0	0	20	37386	53.2	283	V
305	Wakefield	46742	1125	21	17	50	271500	25.9	135	II
306	Wales	38235	1067	17	9	89	26813	42.8	205	III
307	Walpole	38691	1160	25	18	82	400031	39.2	200	III
308	Waltham	59889	1218	17	10	112	1219282	6	73	II
309	Ware	25050	874	20	14	78	131125	59.1	71	II
310	Wareham	61454	942	15	12	84	302084	-4	334	V
311	Warren	30569	912	19	11	29	29161	53.8	291	V
312	Warwick	62500	1236	15	8	84	7752	2	70	I
313	Washington	65049	10000	10	7	53	5304	2	67	I
314	Watertown	59540	1224	36	28	152	868178	15.8	74	II
315	Wayland	53337	1665	24	20	119	429688	16.2	100	II
316	Webster	27986	950	18	12	59	143142	54.9	319	V
317	Wellesley	68702	1459	19	16	87	482152	-7	61	I
318	Wellfleet	258974	1306	6	5	151	58460	-317	6	I
319	Wendell	36069	1111	0	0	92	11361	35.8	226	IV
320	Wenham	59173	10000	16	15	26	22040	7	75	II
321	Westborough	49043	1166	25	15	113	391630	22.2	123	II
322	West Boylston	47064	1224	19	15	30	45553	26.2	133	II
323	West Bridgewater	37417	1090	24	18	80	142687	41.1	214	IV
324	West Brookfield	37685	892	19	14	36	26230	38.5	210	III
325	Westfield	38111	1071	18	13	42	300768	37.9	206	III
326	Westford	28214	1037	24	21	75	295148	53.3	316	V
327	Westhampton	45385	1100	19	12	37	9255	21.1	145	III
328	Westminster	45997	930	15	10	77	88956	24.6	142	III
329	West Newbury	32990	1130	24	21	126	95166	46.2	260	IV
330	Weston	82294	1841	18	16	75	204925	-25	47	I
331	Westport	15434	958	30	21	64	172643	21.9	350	V
332	West Springfield	53992	1124	14	7	75	395847	15.6	96	II
333	West Stockbridge	49226	10000	17	14	64	20220	15	121	II
334	West Tisbury	157616	1216	8	4	40	5966	0191	19	I
335	Westwood	58378	1268	22	16	98	359978	8	77	II
336	Weymouth	36629	969	20	15	73	1025014	43.1	221	IV
337	Whateley	74797	1262	15	11	40	9436	-28	53	I
338	Whitman	28299	1068	28	23	54	195545	54.7	315	V
339	Wilbraham	36943	1088	20	15	48	178934	42.3	218	IV
340	Williamsburg	36107	1279	28	22	92	50140	46.6	224	IV
341	Williamstown	50837	1393	26	19	22	32183	30.6	112	II
342	Wilmington	40099	1120	20	12	97	545034	36.0	190	III
343	Winchendon	21906	1083	32	23	90	162540	63.5	344	V
344	Winchester	51500	1338	23	21	78	421040	18.7	109	II
345	Windsor	44048	10000	25	19	51	8184	33.8	154	III
346	Winthrop	37958	1008	19	18	177	662285	39.4	208	III
347	Woburn	41659	991	0	0	90	827833	34.1	175	III

Towns & Cities - cont'd.

		(A) $	(B) $	(C) $	(D) $	(E) $	(F) $	(G)	(H)	(I)
348	Worcester	35321	1223	22	13	51	1486466	54.4	231	IV
349	Worthington	57205	10000	13	10	67	14359	6	80	II
350	Wrentham	27519	922	19	14	51	85065	38.8	212	IV
351	Yarmouth	120898	10000	9	7	63	214604	-99	80	I

APPENDIX C

Letter to Representative John J. Finnegan

C1

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AMHERST · BOSTON · WORCESTER

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
ONE WASHINGTON MALL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108
(617) 723-7820

February 1, 1977

Representative John J. Finnegan
Chairman
House Ways & Means Committee
State House
Boston, Massachusetts 02133

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am enclosing copies of the final report in memorandum form of the children's services task force for your consideration. This report is a result of a comprehensive seven month effort. The evaluation of children's services was conducted under the auspices of the Institute for Governmental Services. The Director of the Institute, Maurice A. Donahue, was helpful to the task force throughout the course of the seven month period. The program support for the evaluation was received through the Lilly Endowment.

A study of the attitudes of youth on probation towards schools and state agencies serving children will be completed and forwarded to your office in March. The views of the Probation Service toward children's services will also be included. The study was done in collaboration with the Probation Service with the help and assistance of Commissioner Eliot Sands, Deputy Commissioner Joseph Foley, and William MacGregor, Director of Training.

Many organizations and individuals have contributed to the total effort of the task force. I would recommend that each of the organizations and individuals receive a personal letter from your office which recognizes their contribution.

The key organizations are:

The Joint Committee on Post Audit & Legislative Oversight
Office of the President, University of Massachusetts
Graduate Research Center, University of Massachusetts
Amherst School System
National Conference of State Legislatures
New England Mutual Life Insurance Company

The key individuals are:

George Danielson
John Eller
Arthur W. Eve
James Gallagher
Dennis Griffin
Margot Lindsay
Richard Sundstrom
Conrad Wogrin

My final recommendation would be that each of the members of the staff on the children's services task force receive a personal letter from you which recognizes their contribution to the Commonwealth.

Yours truly,

David M. Sheehan
Director
Children's Services Task Force

DMS/so

Enclosures